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The
HISTORY
Civil and Ecclesiastical,
&
Survey of the Antiquities,
OF
WINCHESTER.

By the Rev. John. Milner, D.D. F.R.S.

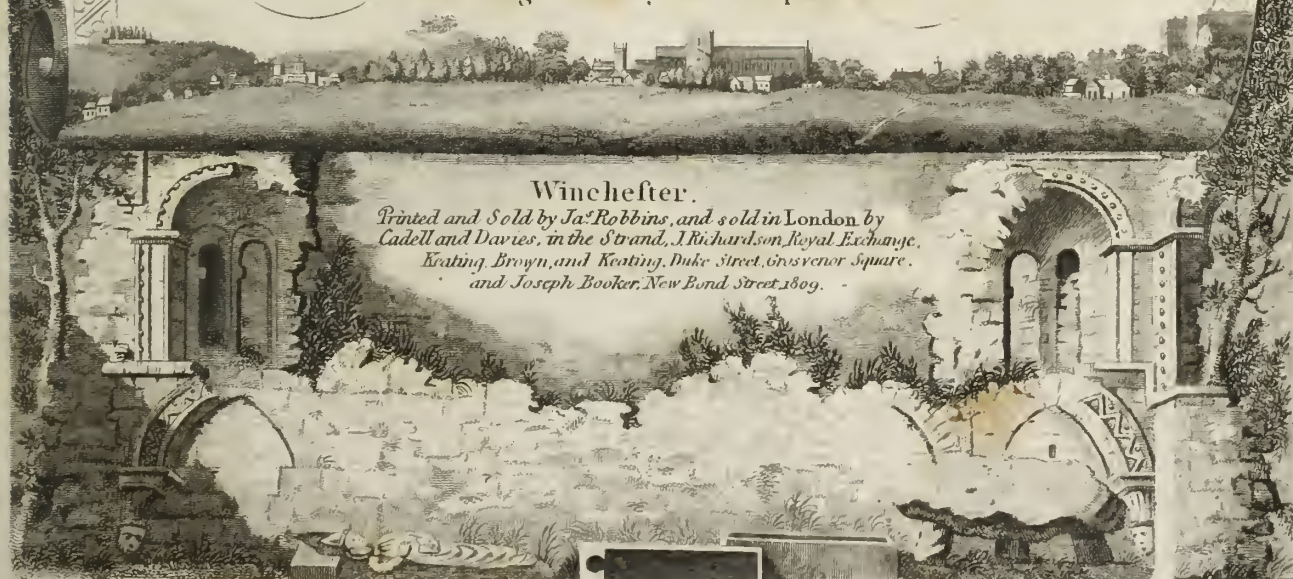
Sic omnia verti
Cernimus, atque alias assumere robora gentes.
Concidere has. Sic magna fuit, censuque virisque.

Nunc humilis veteres tantummodo (Venia) ruinas,
Et pro divitiis, tumulos ostendit avorum.

Civil Metam. l. XV.

In Two Volumes.

Vol. II. being the Survey of the Antiquities.



Winchester.

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Side inclosure of Cathedral Sanctuary with the Mortuary chests North view of the City from The Monk's Walk.
Part of Wolvesey ruins Stone coffins from Hyde Abbey Druidical Altar near St. Peter's Chapel.

PART II.

THE SURVEY OF WINCHESTER.

CHAP. I.

Antiquity of Winchester Cathedral.—Foundation of it by King Lucius.—Its Situation, Architecture, Dimensions, and Title.—First Destruction of the Cathedral, and second Building of it in the Time of Constantine.—Its Fate at the Saxon Conquest.—Rebuilt with great Magnificence by the two first Christian Kings of the West Saxons.—Again rebuilt, enriched with Crypts, and dedicated by St. Ethelwold.—Occasion of its being rebuilt, for the fourth Time, after the Norman Conquest.—The Style and Order in which this Work was carried on.—Description of the Parts of it which still remain.—The Saxon Work, at the East End, replaced with early Gothic, by Bishop Godfrey de Lucy.—His Workmanship ascertained.—Errors of former Writers.—Edington undertakes to repair the West End in the improved Gothic Style.—His Work pointed out.—Errors of Bishop Lowth.—The genuine History of Wykeham's Works in the Cathedral.—Description of the Works of Bishop Fox and Prior Silkstead, at the East End of the Church, in the 16th Century.

IN surveying the antiquities of Winchester, what first claims our attention is the Cathedral. This sacred edifice is, perhaps, the most venerable and interesting monument of antiquity within the compass of the island, now that Glassenbury is destroyed; whether we consider the antiquity of its foundation, the importance of the scenes which have been transacted in it, or the character of the personages with whose mortal remains it is enriched and hal-

lowed. The ancient historian of this cathedral, (1) quoting authors whose works were extant in his time, and who appear to have lived several centuries before him, (2) informs us that this religious structure was first built by our British prince Lucius, in the second century of the Christian æra, (3) being the first royal personage in the world who had the courage to profess himself the disciple of a crucified master; and that he distinguished this, amongst similar foundations, by peculiar marks of his respect and munificence. Indeed, if we can depend upon the accuracy of the dimensions set down by these ancient authors, our cathedral, celebrated as it now is, for being superior in length to all the other churches of the kingdom, is still by no means equal in this, or in any of its other proportions, to those in which it was originally built by its first founder Lucius. (4) As the Grecian architecture was then perfectly understood and practised, and as South Britain was at the same time in the highest state of civilization and refinement, we cannot doubt of the cathedral's being built in that style; though Rudborne and his autho-

(1) Thomas Rudborne, one of the monks of this cathedral in the middle of the 15th century, cited by Usher in his *Primordia*, Cressy, Stephens, &c. now published by Henry Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra*, vol. 1.

(2) *Vigilantius de Basilica Petri*. Girardus Cornub. de Gest. Brit. Moratius, &c.

(3) Viz. between 176 and 180. See vol. 1. p. 39.

(4) Rudborne, *Hist. Maj.* l. 1, c. vi, whom Usher and Stephens follow, tells us, on the authority of Moratius, that the church built by Lucius was 209 paces long; which, according to the computation of one of the above-mentioned writers, must at least be equal to 600 feet. The same author tells us that the church was 80 paces broad, and 92 paces high. According to this account, supposing what is probable, that the structure did not extend so far as it does at present to the west, it must have reached, to the east, a certain space into Colebrook-street; in a part of which we learn that there was a Pagan temple of Concord, as there was another, dedicated to Apollo, not far from thence, in a southern direction. It does not appear from this account that Lucius was at liberty to destroy these Heathen temples, though he built a Christian church near them. In confirmation of the conjecture stated above, that the cathedral, built by Lucius, extended farther to the east than it does at present; it is proper to mention, that at the bottom of the stream, which was made by St. Ethelwold, in the tenth century, to run near the east end of the church, there are at present, or were lately, foundations of large walls, in the same direction with it.

rities assure us that its form was the same that it has ever since worn, namely, that of a cross. (1) Together with the church itself, this religious prince must have built a baptistery, which, according to the discipline of those times, was always a distinct and separate building; and we are assured that he erected an extensive mansion (2) for the habitation of the clergy, whom he liberally endowed to perform divine service in this cathedral of Venta Belgarum. The church being finished, was dedicated in honour of *The Holy Saviour*, (3) by the British apostles, Fugatius and Duvianus, sent hither from Rome at the request of Lucius, by Pope Eleutherius, (4) who also ordained a prelate for this see, by name Dinotus. (5)

When this noble basilic had subsisted about 120 years, (6) it was levelled with the ground; and the clergy belonging to it, except a few who saved themselves by flight, were martyred, (7) in the great persecution raised by Dioclesian towards the conclusion of the third century, which raged with equal violence against the Christians in every other part of Bri-

(1) "Ab uno cornu, ex transverso ecclesiæ in alterum, erant passus 180." Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. i, c. vi, ex Moratio.—Numerous and magnificent churches were built, during the second and third centuries, in different parts of the Roman empire, where Christianity was not so much encouraged as it was in Britain. See Le Brun, *Messe Explic.* tome ii. Bingham's *Christian Antiquities*, book viii.—The forms of these primitive churches were various; oblong, octagonal, round, and in the shape of a cross. In particular, the magnificent church of the apostles at Constantinople, which was incrustured with marble, ceiled with plates of gold, and covered with tiles of gilt brass, was of the last mentioned shape. Euseb. Vit. Const. S. Greg. Nazian. Bingham, *Ecc. Antiq.*

(2) According to Rudborne, it must have been nearly 600 feet in length, and 120 in breadth; being situated considerably more to the east than the monastery of later date.

(3) Rudb. l. i, c. iiii.

(4) Bede, *Ecc. Hist.* l. i, c. iv. Gul. Malm. *Antiq. Glassen.* Mat. West, &c.

(5) Rudb.

(6) For the chronological difficulties concerning these several dates, see part i, p. 39, 47, &c.

(7) Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. i, c. iv.—This writer takes great pains to persuade us that they were monks of an order anterior to the ages both of St. Benedict and St. Antony, namely, those instituted by St. Mark at Alexandria. It would be a loss of time to confute an account so glaringly improbable.

tain, (1) and of the whole Roman empire. This storm being appeased when Constantius Chlorus assumed the purple, the cathedral of Venta was a second time rebuilt; being finished, at the latest, in 313. (2) But this work being now executed, not at the expence of an opulent prince, as had been the case before, but by the contributions of private Christians, who, during the late persecution, had been impoverished, and reduced even to live in the forests; (3) the structure was much less extensive and magnificent than it had been. (4) The form and architecture of it, however, were the same that have been mentioned above; but, as the art of building had greatly declined between the reigns of Antoninus and Constantine, (5) so we may rest assured that the second structure was inferior to the first in beauty, as well as in extent. At this time Constans was bishop of Venta, who consecrated the new basilic, in honour of St. Amphiballus, (6) the instructor of St. Alban, and his fellow sufferer in the late persecution. When this city fell under the power of our Pagan ancestors, the West Saxons, about the year 516, all its clergy, together with the lay inhabitants, were swept away in one promiscuous slaughter. The cathedral itself, however, instead of being destroyed by the victorious Cerdic, was repaired by him, (7) and turned into a temple of his native gods, (8) in which he caused himself to be solemnly crowned king of the West Saxons, in the year 519.

Upon the conversion of Kinegils, who, with a great part of his subjects, embraced the Christian faith in 635, at the preaching of St. Birinus, the envoy of pope Honorius, the ancient cathedral was still subsisting, though profaned, as we have said, by Pagan rites; and therefore might, with more ease and propriety, have been again applied to the purposes of

(1) Gildas, Hist. c. viii. Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. i, c. viii.

(2) Rudborne says the church was rebuilt 22 years after its destruction, or in the year 293, but we have remarked, vol. i, p. 49, that this author has set his chronological scale too forward.

(3) Gildas, De Excid.

(4) Rudb. l. iv, c. vi.

(5) This is manifest from an attentive examination of the architecture of Constantine's triumphal arch at Rome.

(6) Rudb.

(7) Idem. l. ii.

(8) Idem.

a Christian church, than could those Heathen temples which the Saxons themselves had raised, and which pope Gregory had nevertheless permitted to be consecrated to the worship of the true God. (1) But the royal convert being inflamed with zeal for his religion, and gratitude towards his instructor, (2) was resolved upon rebuilding this, which was always intended to be the principal cathedral of the west, (3) with the greatest magnificence in his power. He was actually employed in executing this religious design, having taken down the former fabric, (4) and he had collected an immense quantity of materials for the work, (5) when he was carried off by death; and the building, as we have stated, (6) was interrupted for a few years, until at length it was completed by king Kenewalch, the son of Kinegils, upon a scale of extent and with an elegance which seem to have been unprecedented in this island since the Saxon conquest. (7) Our apostle St. Birinus had the satisfaction of seeing his royal foundation completed before his death, and of consecrating it in person; which he performed in the name of the Holy Trinity, and of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, (8) in 548, a short time before his happy dissolution.

During the fifty years which had intervened since the first preaching of the Gospel to the Saxons, our ancestors had, by the instructions of their preachers, (9) and their frequent intercourse with France and Italy, aban-

(1) Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. i, c. xxx.

(2) "Iste (Kinegilsus) dedit S. Bëriño civitatem Dôrcacestriam, ut sederet interim in ea, donec conderet ecclesiam tanto pontifice dignam in regiâ civitate." Annales Wint.

(3) In votis ejus (Kinegils) erat in Wintoniâ ædificare templum præcipuum, collectis jam plurimis ad opus ædificiî." Annal. Wint.—"Eodem tempore (an. 544) Kenewalchus sedem episcopalem in Wintoniâ fundavit." Mat. West.

(4) "Incœpit fundare ecclesiam cathedralem Wynton, destruens illud templum Dagon quod Cerdicus construxerat." Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. ii, c. i.—It is the opinion of Burton, Camden, and other highly respectable antiquaries, that the mass of ruins at the west end of the present cathedral, formed part of the building belonging to this ancient cathedral; an opinion which we can by no means assent to.

(5) Annal. Wint.

(6) Vol. i, p. 95.

(7) Rudb. Annales. Gul. Malm. De Gest. Reg. l. ii, c. ii.

(8) See vol. i, p. 95, note 4.

(9) "Curavit rex (Edwinus) docente eodem Paulino, majorem, ipso in loco, & augustiorem de lapide fabricare basilicam." Bede, Ecc. Hist. l. ii, c. xiv.

doned their former rude style of building; the materials of which, even in their churches, were only the trunks of trees sawn asunder, and placed beside each other, with a covering of thatch; (1) a style of building which, at the time we are speaking of, still prevailed in the northern parts of the island: and they quickly learnt, not only to build with hewn stone, but also to cover their churches with lead, to glaze the windows of them, and to adorn them with religious paintings. (2) The person who contributed most to the introduction of these arts into the island, was the famous abbot St. Bennet Biscop; who being the intimate friend, and occasionally the guest of Kenewalch, no doubt assisted him with his own talents and experience, as also with the skill of the artists whom he procured from abroad, (3) in building the cathedral of this city, in that superior style of elegance, in which it is said to have been raised. If we admit, what seems hardly credible, that the ground plan of Kenewalch's cathedral was as extensive as that which was afterwards raised by Walkelyn, after the Norman conquest; (4) or, in other words, as extensive as it is at the present day; yet we may rest satisfied, from the improvements that were made in our national architecture, at the last-mentioned period, (5) that it was by no means equal to it in loftiness and magnificence. This structure, thus raised, remained unimpaired until the first conquest of the island by the Danes, after the death of our renowned St. Swithun; when this city falling into their hands, the cathedral clergy were all massacred, and the fabric itself, in all appearance, suffered great damage; as we find, soon after-

(1) Hen. Hunt. Hist. l. iii.—“*Ecclesiam, more Scotorum non de lapide, sed de robore secto totam composuit, atque arundine texit.*” Idem. l. iii, c. xxv. Idem. l. v, c. xxii.

(2) The church of Weremouth was ornamented with pictures of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Apostles, and of the Visions in the book of the Revelations, by its founder, St. Bennet Biscop, as Bede expressly says, in his History of the Abbots of that Monastery.

(3) Idem.

(4) Religiosus adeo erat (Kenewalchus) ut in Wintoniâ templum Deo, per id temporis, pulcherrimum, construeret; quod loci posteritas in episcopali sede fundandâ etsi augustiore peritiâ, *per eadem cucurrit vestigia.*” Will. Malm. De Gest. Reg. l. i, c. ii.

(5) Idem. l. iii.

wards, a particular provision made by one of its bishops for repairing it. (1) It is not to be supposed that the famous Saxon architect, St. Ethelwold, who built so many churches and monasteries, in different parts of the kingdom, would neglect the cathedral of his own see, and of his native city; on the contrary, we are assured, that it was an object which he had very much at heart to rebuild it from the ground. (2) This he accordingly performed with great diligence, obliging his monks to assist in the work. (3) He at the same time enriched it with its subterraneous crypts, which it before had wanted; (4) as also with the stream of water, which he introduced into the principal offices of the monastery, as he did other streams into different parts of the city. (5) He lived to complete this great undertaking; which being done, he in the year 980 consecrated the new structure with great solemnity, in the presence of king Ethelred, St. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, and eight other bishops. (6) It was dedicated under the same title of St. Peter and St. Paul, which St. Birinus had conferred upon it: but the body of St. Swithun, having a little before been transferred from the church yard, where it had been buried, in conformity with his own directions, into the church itself, where a sumptuous shrine had been provided by king Edgar for its reception, and the whole kingdom resounding with the fame of the miracles wrought by his intercession; (7)

(1) Vol. I, p. 125.

(2) "Fuit Ethelwoldus templorum, diversarumque structurarum fabricator egregius. Magno studio in veteris ecclesiæ instaurationem vir sanctus incumberebat, & fratres sæpe laborabant." Vita Ethelwoldi per Wulstan. Monach.—"Novâ ecclesiâ, ut diu desideraverat, ædificatâ, sublatus est mundo." Will. Malm. De Pontif. l. II. (3) Vide supra.

(4) Crypts, called also *Confessiones*, and *Martyria*, were subterraneous chapels, which were usually dug under the principal churches, and at first appropriated to the burial of the martyrs or other saints. Hence they were places of great devotion, and being provided with altars, mass was sometimes celebrated in them.

(5) Vol. I, p. 161.

(6) Idem. p. 159, 160.

(7) "Vidi ego hominem cui violentia raptorum effodisset lumina, oculis vel illis vel aliis receptis, serenam lucem per Swithuni merita recepisse, &c." Will. Malm. De Pontif. l. II.

it was thought proper to add the name of this saint to those of its former patrons; which title, for the reason just mentioned, soon becoming highly celebrated, the cathedral itself and the priory belonging to it were henceforward, down to the time of Henry VIII. distinguished by the name of St. Swithun. It is probable that the structure of St. Ethelwold was of no greater height and extent than that of Kenewalch; and, indeed, that the former not only made use of the loose materials of the ancient building, but also incorporated such parts of it, as he found of sufficient strength to be left standing. It is the opinion of a learned antiquary, that a considerable part of this Saxon cathedral, built by St. Ethelwold and king Edgar, is still in being; namely, the low built aisles at the east end of the fabric, where the tombs of Beaufort and Waynfilet are now seen: (1) but his assertion, that the style of the architecture here is more simple and confined than that of Walkelyn, is manifestly erroneous, whether we examine the inside or the outside of the building in question. It is not, indeed, so lofty as the transepts are, which are unquestionably the work of Walkelyn; but neither are the chapels behind the high altars in other cathedrals, so lofty as the transept and naves of them are, being considered as rooms distinct from them. Independently, however, of this reasoning, the architecture of these aisles, as we shall see, bespeaks a much later date than that of the Norman Walkelin. All then that remains visible of the work of St. Ethelwold, are the crypts themselves, or the chapels under the part that we have been speaking of; the walls, pillars, and groining of which remain in much the same state as that in which he left them; (2) and are executed in a firm and bold,

(1) Description of the City, &c. of Winchester, by the Rev. Thomas Warton, p. 63.

(2) The chief alterations in them, of a later date, are the following:—1. A new crypt, with pointed arches, has been made under the eastern extremity of the Lady Chapel.—2. Several masses of masonry have been raised in various parts of them, either to form sepulchres for bodies, the monuments of which are above, or to support the fabric over them, which in these parts is exceedingly defective.—3. A great quantity of rubbish and earth has accumulated on the pavement, which covers it, as also the bases of the pillars.—4. The entrance into them, through the holy hole, has been obstructed by bishop Fox, and another has been made by him from the Water Close, under the south east aisle of the fabric,

though simple and unadorned manner, which gives no contemptible idea of Saxon art.

It is impossible to suppose that a church, which had been built by so able an architect, and in so substantial a manner, could want rebuilding in less than a century, when bishop Walkelin actually undertook this great work. It is true it had, during this time, fallen a second time under the power of the Pagan Danes; (1) but as the city, on this occasion, surrendered itself to them without any resistance, so it seems now to have been exempt from any signal devastation. At all events, we may be assured, that whatever damage the impious Swayne might have done to the cathedral, his religious son Canute, one of the chief of all its royal benefactors, amply repaired. It was not then from any real necessity of such a work, that our first Norman bishop rebuilt the cathedral; but the fact is, the Normans in general, being a refined and high spirited people, held the Saxons, with all their arts, learning, and whatever else belonged to them, in the most sovereign contempt. In particular, they almost every where threw down the chief churches of the vanquished people, and rebuilt them in a more noble and magnificent style, which they had learnt in their own country. (2) As the bishopric of Winchester was undoubtedly the first in England, in point of wealth, and about this time was synodically declared to be the second, in point of dignity; (3) so Walkelin, whose mind was not less noble and vast than that of his relation, the Conqueror, took pains that its cathedral should not be inferior to those which several other bishops, his countrymen, were at the same time erecting in different sees. We are enabled to form some idea of the greatness of the work in hand, and of the ardour with which he prosecuted it, from the adventure mentioned before, (4)

(1) See vol. i. p. 172.

(2) "Videas ubique in villis ecclesias, in vicis & urbibus monasteria, novo ædificandi genere, exurgere." Will. Malm. De Reg. i. iii. "Monasteria surgebant, religione vetera, ædificiis recentia." Ibid.

(3) In Concil. Londin. an. 1075. Rudb. Angl. Sac. vol. 1, p. 254.

(4) See vol. i, p. 195.

of his cutting down a whole forest, in order to supply the timber necessary for completing it. It was not, however, the church alone that this prelate undertook to rebuild, but also the extensive and numerous offices of the adjoining monastery, all which he actually completed at his own expence; so that amongst all the great and munificent prelates, who have been founders and benefactors of this cathedral, the name of Walkelin undoubtedly claims the first place; and, as a celebrated historian says, will remain immortal, like the works which he has made, as long as an episcopal see shall remain at Winchester. (1)

To understand, in a distinct nanner, what works were actually executed by Walkelin, and to reconcile certain apparent contradictions in our Winchester Annalists and other ancient writers, it seems necessary to admit the following particulars. The Saxon church built by Kenewalch, and rebuilt by St. Ethelwold, had the same limits to the east that the church has had ever since; (2) but it did not extend so far towards the west, probably by 150 feet, as Walkelin afterwards built it. (3) In consequence of this scale of the ancient church, its high altar, (4) tower, (5) transept, and the

(1) "Walkelinus, cujus bona opera, famam vincentia, senium a se vetustatis repellent, quamdiu sedes episcopalis durabit." Will. Malm. De Gest. Pontif.

(2) We may be assured that St. Ethelwold's church did not reach beyond the stream of water which he introduced into the monastery. Now the present fabric reaches almost to the border of it.

(3) Not to mention the great improbability that the low Saxon church was 550 long; there are other arguments, drawn from Rudborne and Malmesbury's account of the relative situation and extent of the New Minster church, which was parallel with the cathedral, and of the old cemetery, or church yard, which seem to prove that the Saxon church did not extend so far to the west as it does at present.

(4) It is plain from the Winchester Annalist, that there was a high altar of the ancient church, which coexisted with that of the new church, and which therefore must have stood to the east of it. Vid. an. 1094.

(5) That there was a tower belonging to the Saxon church, situated to the east of the present tower, and which continued long to exist with it, is probable, not only from the general scale of the building, but also from the following circumstances. The tomb of William Rufus stood under a certain tower of the church, which falling down, covered it with ruins.

habitations of the monks, (1) were considerably more to the east, than they were afterwards placed. Walkelin began his work by taking down all that part of the church which was to the west of the aforesaid tower; in the place of which he built up from the foundations the present large and massive tower, which hence bore his name, (2) the lofty and capacious north and south transepts, and the body of the church of the same height with them, and reaching to the full extent of the present fabric. He also built new cloisters, with all the other offices requisite for a cathedral monastery, such as a chapter-house, dormitories, a refectory, kitchen, &c. in the situation which they ever afterwards held, on the south-west side of the church. In effecting this latter work, he was under the necessity of taking down the western end of the ancient monastery, yet so as to leave a sufficient part of it and of the church itself standing, for the dwelling and the regular exercises of the monks. (3) The whole of this great work was completed within the space of fourteen years, having been begun in 1079, and finished in 1093; in which year, namely, on the 8th of April, the monks went in triumph from their old to their new monastery: on which occasion, a great solemnity was held, which was graced with the presence of most of

But this tomb neither now is, nor appears ever to have been, under the present tower, which, as Rudborne remarks, was built in too firm a manner to have fallen down so soon after its erection. 2dly, We are told by the Annalist, that in 1214, the weather cock (*flabellum*) falling from the tower, broke the shrine of St. Swithun, which must have stood near the high altar; now it was impossible that any heavy substance falling from the top of the present tower should come near that situation. We are sensible that the present hypothesis does not agree with that of Rudborne, who is embarrassed to account for the circumstance of the towers falling upon Rufus's tomb. *Ang. Sac.* vol. 1, p. 271. But, in admitting his facts, we are not obliged to follow his conjectures, which may be seen in the passage here quoted. What is advanced above, seems to be the only way of reconciling Rudborne with himself, who in a preceding passage, p. 256, has told us, "*Walkelinus episcopus fieri fecit turrin ecclesie Wintoniensis ut modo cernitur.*"

(1) The Annalist expressly describes the old and the new monasteries as existing at the same time. *An.* 1093.—"In præsentia fere omnium episcoporum & abbatum Angliæ de veteri monasterio Wintoniensi, cum maxima exaltatione & gloria, ad novum venerunt monachi, 6^o idus Aprilis." *Annales Wint.* (2) *Rudb. Ang. Sac.* p. 271. (3) *Vid. supra.*

the bishops and abbots of England. (1) On the 15th of July, in the same year, it being St. Swithun's festival, the shrine of that saint was carried in procession from the old high altar to the new one; (2) a distance probably of not more than forty feet, but which was, no doubt, lengthened by making the usual circuit of the cloisters. In the course of the year, Walkelin took down the offices, which had been left standing, of the ancient monastery, as also the transepts, and whatever else remained of the ancient church, except the old high altar and the eastern aisles, in the centre of which it was placed. (3) In the next year it is probable that the old high altar, being no longer necessary, was removed, as certain relics of St. Swithun and those of several other saints were then found under it. (4)

We have abundant specimens remaining of the work of the above-mentioned Norman prelate. The most conspicuous of these is the square massive tower, 140 feet high and 50 feet wide; which is seen at the present day, in as perfect and firm a state, to all appearance, as when it was first built, 700 years ago, and which was celebrated in ancient times as being the firmest in all England. (5) It bears intrinsic evidence of the age in which it was built, in the general simplicity and massiveness of its architecture; in its circular windows, adorned with the chevron and billeted mouldings; and in the capitals and ornaments of its pillars. It is frequently asked, why a tower of such great strength is destitute of a steeple? The fact is, it was built before steeples were invented, these being the natural growth of the pointed arch, as we shall elsewhere shew. The purposes which it was intended to answer were, in point of use, to serve as a lanthorn to the choir, which actually stands in need of such a contrivance; and in point of effect to give an idea of height when viewed

(1) Vide supra.

(2) *Annales ad dict. an.*

(3) "Sequenti die Domini cœperunt homines Walkelini episcopi, primum vetus frangere monasterium & fractum est totum in illo anno excepto porticu uno et summo altari." *Annal. Wint. an. 1093.*

(4) *Annales, an. 1094.*

(5) "Illa turris adhuc extat, secundum latomos firmissima inter omnes hujusmodi turres in regno Angliæ." *Rudb. Hist. Maj. l.v. c. ii.*

from the inside ; a proportion which, no less than length, the Normans affected to carry as far as possible in their sacred edifices. That such were the purposes of the tower is clear from the inside of it, as in both its stories above the present ceiling, and up to its present covering, it is finished with the utmost care, and adorned with various ornaments, chiefly those above-mentioned. The lower of these stories, if not the whole of the tower, was actually open until the reign of Charles I. The two transepts are also the work of Walkelin ; and though they have been the most neglected of any part of the fabric, yet are they in a far more firm and secure state than any portion of the building that is of a later construction. It is necessary, however, in viewing this and other ancient fabrics, carefully to distinguish the original work from the alterations which have since been introduced into them. Of the former sort are the walls up to the very summit of them, with their thin perpendicular buttresses, and their narrow simple mouldings ; as also the interlaced arch work on the upper part of the south transept above the clock, forming perhaps the first rudiment of the pointed arch extant in England. Of the same date and workmanship are the whole of the several windows in both transepts ; being large and well-proportioned, with circular heads, ornamented with the billeted moulding, and supported on each side, by a plain Saxon pillar, with a rude kind of square frieze and cornice, resembling those which are seen between the lights in the tower. The alterations that have been introduced into the transepts, since the time of Walkelin, are chiefly found in the windows. A great proportion of these have been changed at different periods, and in various styles and fashions. In many of them the circular arch and billeted moulding is left to remain, and a pointed window, with Gothic mullions, is inserted under them. In others, these have been quite taken away, and a pointed arch has been made to receive the Gothic window. In like manner, the St. Catharine's wheel, on the north front of the said transept, is evidently of a later date than the Norman founder.

The next of our bishops who signalised himself in repairing his cathedral was that eminent prelate Godfrey de Lucy. In the course of a century

after the death of Walkelin, we may suppose, that the Saxon work, which the latter had left remaining to the east of the high altar, with the small tower over it, were become out of repair; he accordingly rebuilt them in the architecture of the times, commencing with the tower, which was begun and finished in the year 1200.(1) He then formed a confraternity or society of workmen, with whom he entered into terms for completing the other repairs, which he was desirous of making; namely, for rebuilding the whole east end of the church, with the Lady Chapel, (2) as far as that anciently extended. This he required to be performed (3) in the course of five years, dating from the year 1202.(4) In the mean time, this prelate having paid the debt of nature in 1204, was buried in the centre of his own works, as was usual in such cases. It might seem impossible for a person, who is ever so little skilled in the different periods of our sacred architecture, to overlook the workmanship of De Lucy, so strongly characteristic of the age in which it was executed; yet this has been done by two celebrated authors of modern times, who have treated of the antiquities of Winchester: one of whom has indiscriminately attributed this, with the other parts of the fabric westward of it, to the Norman Walkelin; (5) whilst the other, still

(1) “Anno 1200, inchoata est & perfecta turris Wintoniensis ecclesiæ.” *Annal. Wint.*—Independently of the many positive assertions of Rudborne, that the present great tower was built by Walkelin, the style of it, as we have intimated, proves this: There must then have been a smaller tower to the east of it, originally built by the Saxons, and now rebuilt by De Lucy.

(2) In the Epitome concerning the bishops of Winchester, *Ang. Sac. vol. 1, p. 286*, is a mutilated sentence, which seems to refer to the works of De Lucy in the cathedral, and to imply that he rebuilt the church and vaulted it, together with the wings, from the high altar, to the altar of the Blessed Virgin at the east end, viz. “Ad altare B. Mariæ ad finem cum alis voltam.”

(3) It is easy to discover the addition made to the Lady Chapel in the 16th century.

(4) Anno 1202, D. Wintoniensis Godfridus De Lucy constituit confratriam pro reparatione ecclesiæ Wintoniensis, duraturam ad quinque annos completos.” *Annales Wint.*—These confraternities of church builders may perhaps have been the origin of Freemasons.

(5) “The whole fabric then standing (in Wykeham’s time) was erected by bishop Walkelin.” *Lowth’s Life of William of Wykeham, p. 208.*—Our author, in support of his

more inconsistently, ascribes a still earlier date to it, and supposes it to have been built by the Saxons. (1) However, there is no person that is a judge of these matters, who, viewing the low aisles of the church, at the east end of it, there sees, both on the outside of it and in the inside, the ranges of short pillars, supporting arches, formed of the upper part of a trefoil; the narrow oblong windows in different compartments, without any mullions; the obtuse-angled or lance-like heads of these and of the arches themselves; the clusters of thin columns, mostly formed of Purbeck marble, with bold and graceful mouldings on the capitals and bases; together with the intermingled quatrefoils inscribed in circles, by way of ornament; there is no such person, we repeat, who will hesitate to pronounce that the said work was executed in the same century with Salisbury cathedral, (2) namely, in the 13th, that in which Gædfrey de Lucy died.

In consequence of the works of bishop Godfrey, at the east end of the church; this part, though less lofty, was far more ornamented and beautiful than the main body of the church was; whose plain walls, huge unadorned pillars, and naked timbers in the roof, appeared more poor and contemptible from the contrast. But when, by degrees, the Gothic architecture, (3)

opinion, refers to the passages in Rudborne, which we have quoted above, by various passages of which it is clearly confuted.

(1) "I am persuaded that the low built aisles at the east end of the choir, existed before the time of Walkelyne, and are a part of the old church erected by the Saxon kings." Description of Winchester, &c. by the Rev. Thomas Warton, p. 63.—This author, when he wrote thus, had probably not paid that attention to ancient architecture, which he afterwards displayed in his notes on Spenser's Fairy Queen; as the assertion above quoted, is in direct opposition to the characteristical rules there laid down by him.

(2) Upon comparing together the work of our Godfrey de Lucy, particularly in the ancient part of the Lady Chapel, with that afterwards executed by Richard Poore at Salisbury, we clearly see that the former served as a model for the latter. We must not omit to mention, that some windows of a later date have been inserted in a part of this building, no less than in that of Walkelin.

(3) The writer makes use of the word *Gothic* for the architecture in question, as being generally received; though he is sensible that the term was introduced, for the purpose of bringing this stile of architecture into contempt, by real Goths and Vaudals, the destroyers of the venerable and curious monuments of preceeding ages, in the 16th century. Many learned

which was in its infancy at the beginning of the 13th century, had attained its maturity in the middle of the 14th; and when so many other churches throughout the kingdom, shone forth with all the magic beauty of tracery vaulting, spreading columns, shelving buttresses, tapering pinnacles, canopied niches, statuary friezes and corbels, ramified mullions, and historical windows; it was not fitting that the cathedral of this opulent and dignified bishopric should remain destitute of such admired and appropriate improvements. This was the real cause of the great work that was carried on at the time we are speaking of, namely, during the middle and latter part of the 14th century. Not that Walkelin's work was in a space of 300 years become decayed and insecure, as a learned author tells us; (1) since the corresponding parts of that very building, namely the transepts, after having stood 400 years longer, are still the firmest part of the whole fabric. The prelate who first took this great work in hand was not, as is generally supposed, William of Wykeham, but his predecessor William of Edington, who was treasurer and chancellor to Edward III. It is incontestable, from his will made and signed in the year of his decease, that he had actually begun, and undertaken to finish the rebuilding of the great nave of the church, (2) though he only lived to execute a small part of it. This consisted of the two first windows, from the great west window, with the corresponding buttresses, and one pinnacle on the north side of the church; as likewise the first window towards the west, with the buttress and pinnacle on the south side.

The celebrated biographer of William of Wykeham, has given a detailed account of the great works executed at the cathedral, by that prelate, which contains much useful information, and also many mistakes. It appears that the prior and monastery, by an authentic deed, acquitted the bishop of all obligation of executing the work which he had taken in hand,

persons now include all the different periods of the pointed architecture, under the general name of the *Norman* style.

(1) Lowth's *Life of W. W.* p. 202.

(2) "Eodem anno 1366, die 11 Sept. testamento condito, præcepit ut de bonis suis expenderetur ad perfectionem navis ecclesiæ cathedralis Wintoniensis a se inchoatæ." *Contin. Hist. Wint. ex Registro Langham.* Ang. Sac. vol. 1, p. 317.

and acknowledged that it proceeded from his mere liberality and zeal for the honour of God: they agreed to find the whole scaffolding necessary for the work, and gave the bishop free leave to dig and carry away chalk and sand from any of their lands as he might think convenient and useful for his purpose; besides allowing the whole materials of the old building to be applied to the use of the new. He employed William Winford as his architect, and Simon Membury as his surveyor; whilst John Wayte, one of the monks, acted as controller on the part of the convent. (1) In these, and other particulars, as far as they tend to shew that this illustrious prelate repaired, and, in a certain sense, rebuilt the main body of the cathedral, from the tower to the west end, in that new invented species of architecture called the Gothic, the learned biographer is supported by incontestable records; but when he asserts that, to effect this, he took down the whole former fabric, (2) he is clearly in an error. For let any one compare the buttresses, pinnacles, and windows, which we have ascribed above to Edington, with the others in the same range, which are the undoubted work of Wykeham; and then say, whether it is possible that they can be all the work of the same architect. The four buttresses of Edington, three on one side, and one on the other, have a greater number of breaks than those of Wykeham; his two pinnacles, one on each side, are thicker and heavier than those of his successor; finally, his three windows, two on the north side and one on the south, do not range with the rest of the under windows; they are not of the same form with them, being lower and wider, and they do not correspond with them in the number of their compartments, those of Edington having four in a row, whilst those of Wykeham have only three. But not to multiply words in a matter so evident, though hitherto overlooked; we may clearly trace, in the different colours of the stone, and in a new set-off a little above the two windows on the north side, where the work of Edington ended, and where that of Wykeham began. Nor is it even

(1) Life of W.W. p. 210, ex testamento ejusdem in Appendice, n. xvii.

(2) Ibid, p. 209.

true, that "he took down the whole of Walkelin's work, or at most only left 16 feet of the lower order of the pillars belonging to it standing." (1) For the original Norman pillars may be traced, not only at the steps leading up to the choir, where there was a sufficient reason for not casing them; but aloft, amidst the very timbers of the roof, on both sides of the nave, throughout the greater part of its extent, corresponding in every respect with those which are still seen reaching up to the timbers in the transepts. In like manner the pointed arches between the columns upon the first story, will be found, upon a close inspection, from the inside of the work above the side aisles, not to have been originally built in that manner, but to have been formed by filling up and adapting to that shape the old semi-circular arches of Walkelin's second story; the form of which may also be seen in the cross aisles. (2) If this discovery diminishes in some small degree the credit of Wykeham's munificence, in regard of his cathedral, it encreases that of his prudence, economy, and skill. For in the system here advanced, that this celebrated architect preserved as much of the Norman building, particularly of its nave, as he found he could fashion into a Gothic form; (3) (which will be found to have been the case in most of our Gothic cathedrals that have been built by the Normans); a sufficient apology is offered for the undue massiveness of the columns, which arises from the necessity of casing the ancient round pillars with Gothic clusters; whereas it would evidently be a pitiful economy to sacrifice the beauty and gracefulness of

(1) Life of W.W. p. 211.

(2) An alteration which has taken place in the slype, while the present edition has been in the press, still further confirms the writer's system, in opposition to that of bishop Lowth. On taking down part of a wall or buttress, adjoining to the west door of the cathedral leading into the Close, part of the circular moulding, with the billeted ornament, in the original workmanship of Walkelin, was discovered, and is still to be seen; the stone appearing remarkably fresh from the above-mentioned circumstance.

(3) It appears also, upon examining the timbers of the roof, that the west end of them has at some period, most probably within the three last centuries, been on fire, and in part consumed. Whether this accident happened by lightning or culinary fire does not appear.

such a magnificent fabric, merely for the sake of retaining 16 feet of the ancient pillars, as this learned author, with his numerous followers, supposes. (1)

The west end of the cathedral was now complete in its kind; but the eastern part of it from the tower to the low aisles of de Lucy, was far from being conformable to the rest, consisting of the Norman work of Walkelin, repaired and decorated at subsequent periods, in the same manner as we see different windows in the transepts have been; when that great and good prelate Fox, at the beginning of the 16th century, undertook to rebuild it; which he accordingly performed, (2) with all the finished elegance that Gothic architecture had by this time acquired. Indeed it is impossible to survey the works of this prelate, either on the outside of the church or in the inside, without being struck with their beauty and magnificence. In both of them we see the most exquisite art employed to execute the most noble and elegant designs. We cannot fail in particular of admiring the vast but well-proportioned and ornamented arched windows which surround this part, and give light to the sanctuary; the bold and airy flying buttresses that, stretching over the said aisles, support the upper walls; the rich open battlement which surmounts these walls; and the elegant sweep that contracts them to the size of the great eastern window; the two gorgeous canopies which crown the extreme turrets, and the profusion of elegant carved work

(1) In the instrument executed by Thomas, prior of St. Swithun's, to Wykeham, concerning his chantry, speaking of the latter's works in the cathedral, he says, "*suam & nostram ecclesiam Wynton ipsius gravibus sumptibus et expensis decentissimè & honestissimè a fundamentis reparavit ac etiam renovavit.*" Lowth, Append. n. xvi.—Chaundler, on the same subject says, "*corpus dictæ ecclesiæ cum duabus alis & omnibus fenestris vitreis, a magnâ occidentali fenestrâ capitali usque campanile a funde usque ad summum de novo reparavit, & voltas in eisdem, opere curioso, constituit.*" Ang. Sac. vol. II, p. 356.—The words above in Italics seem to insinuate that Wykeham's work was not, in every respect, a new erection.

(2) Though Godwin and Harpsfield only make mention of Fox's decorations within the church, yet that he was the author of the outside work, here ascribed to him, is abundantly proved by his image and devices in various parts of it.

that covers the whole east front, tapering up to a point, where we view the breathing statue of the pious founder resting upon his chosen emblem, the pelican. In a word, neglected and mutilated as this work has been, during the course of nearly three centuries; it still warrants us to assert, that if the whole cathedral had been finished in the style of this portion of it, the whole island, and perhaps all Europe, could not have exhibited a Gothic structure equal to it. We may conjecture that it was Fox's intention, if he had lived long enough, to render the transepts purely Gothic, like the rest of the fabric; not probably without a view of performing the same operation upon the tower itself, which in this case would have been furnished with a suitable spire. The circumstances which seem to authorize these conjectures are, that the side aisles of his construction are furnished, on each side, with ornamental work and windows beyond the line of the transepts, part of which is removed in order to make room for their admission; as likewise that the upper line of windows, being four in number on the west side of that to the north, was at the time that Fox's other works were going on completely altered in the Gothic style, and furnished with canopies, busts, and a fascia, on which are seen the initials and devices of Fox's contemporary and friend, prior Silkstede.

All that remains to be noticed on the outside of this venerable pile is the addition of about 26 feet made to the Lady Chapel, at the eastern extremity. This is demonstrated to have been executed at the same time with bishop Fox's work, namely, in the early part of the 16th century, by the devices and rebusses of prior Silkstede which it exhibits. The three windows, with other works contained in this part, are no less rich than those of the above-mentioned prelate, but do not appear to be so well imagined. The windows in particular are too much crowded with mullions, the ill-judged profusion of which, and of other ornaments in the Gothic buildings of Henry the Seventh's reign, was one cause of the decline of that style, and of men's resorting to the simplicity of the Grecian architecture.

From the whole of what has been said, as well as from an actual survey of the cathedral, it will be concluded, that its great defect is a want of

uniformity, the unavoidable consequence of its having been above four centuries in building ; that is to say, from the Conquest down to the Reformation. This disadvantage, however, is in some degree compensated to the ingenious spectator, by the opportunity it affords him of studying the various styles of architecture, which succeeded each other during that period. Without going farther, he will discover in this single pile, the rise, progress, and perfection of the pointed or Gothic architecture ; there not being a single stage of that remarkable and interesting species of building, and hardly an ornament made use of in it, which may not be traced in some part or other of Winchester cathedral.

CHAP. II.

General Observations upon the Entrance into Winchester Cathedral.—Survey of the South Side of it.—Wykeham's Chantry and Tomb.—Ditto of Edington.—Survey of the South Transept, with its Chapels, Monuments, and adjoining Offices.—The Steps in the Nave leading to the Choir.—Monuments of Walkelin, Giffard, and Hoadley.—Situation, Names, and Uses of the ancient Pulpit.—Description of the Choir, Comparison of it with that of Salisbury.—Dates of the Stall Work, Pulpit, &c.—Inside of the great Tower, Ornaments and Legends on the Ceiling of it.—Advance towards the Sanctuary, Criticism on the Altar Piece.—Description of the modern Canopy, and of the ancient Altar, with its Ornaments.—Ditto of the Altar Screen.—Account of the Figures painted in the Choir Windows, and of the Ornaments on the Ceiling.—The Partition Walls, with the Mortuary Chests and other Monuments and Graves in the Choir.—Fox's Study, the Capitular Chapel, and Gardiner's Chantry.—De Lucy's Church.—Beaufort's Chantry.—Ditto of Waynflete.—Clobery's Monument and Epitaph.—Langton's Chapel.—The Lady Chapel, with the Paintings in it.—The Angel Guardian Chapel, with its Monuments.—The supposed Grave and Relics of St. Swithun.—The Holy Hole.—Monuments of Hardicanute, Ethelmar, &c.—Descent into the North Transept, Chapels, Monuments, and Paintings therein.—North Aisle of the Nave, Monuments of Morley, Boles, &c.—The ancient Font.—Erroneous Explanations of the Carvings upon it.—Their genuine Meaning ascertained.—Reflections upon quitting the Cathedral.



J. G. del. Winchester 1608.

J. B. sculp.

An interior View of Winchester Cathedral to the West.

Published by J. R. H. W.

A. 1800



IT is usual to enter into the cathedral by the great porch, the original beauty of which and the whole west front, being chiefly the work of the immortal Wykeham, shines forth through all the disgraceful neglect and violence of latter ages; the earth and rubbish having accumulated to a great height before it, (1) the open gallery (2) hanging in ruins, the mullions of the great window being decayed, the glass of it shattered or vilely repaired with painted fragments of opaque colouring, the colossal statues of the two ancient patrons of the church, St. Peter and St. Paul, on each side of the great doors, being cast down from their pedestals, and the elegant canopies under which they stood nearly chisselled away. Fortunately the figure of St. Swithun or of Wykeham, which ever it was intended to represent, in the tabernacle on the extreme point of the front, was out of the reach of the iconoclasts of the two last centuries.

Having now entered the awful pile, by that doorway through which so many illustrious personages have heretofore passed in solemn procession; as the impatient eye shoots through the long-drawn nave to the eastern window, glowing with the richest colours of enamelling; as it soars up to the lofty vault, fretted with infinite tracery; and as it wanders below amidst the various solemn objects which the first glance commands; the most insensible spectator must feel his mind arrested with a certain awe, and must now experience, if he has never felt them before, the mingled sensations of the sublime and beautiful. It will require some minutes for the most refined architectural critic, entering into the cathedral for the first time, to be able to recollect himself, in order to attend either to its particular

(1) Since the first edition of this work, a great deal of dirt and rubbish has been removed from the alley in front of the cathedral. It was not possible to lower this alley and the ground near it to the level of the church pavement, without destroying the monuments and trees which at present occupy them, and without other inconveniences.

(2) Since the period above alluded to, something has been done towards the repairing of this gallery, the original use of which was for the conveniency of the bishop when dressed in his pontifical ornaments and attended by his clergy, to give his solemn benediction on particular occasions to the people assembled in the front of it, or to absolve them from certain censure which they might have incurred.

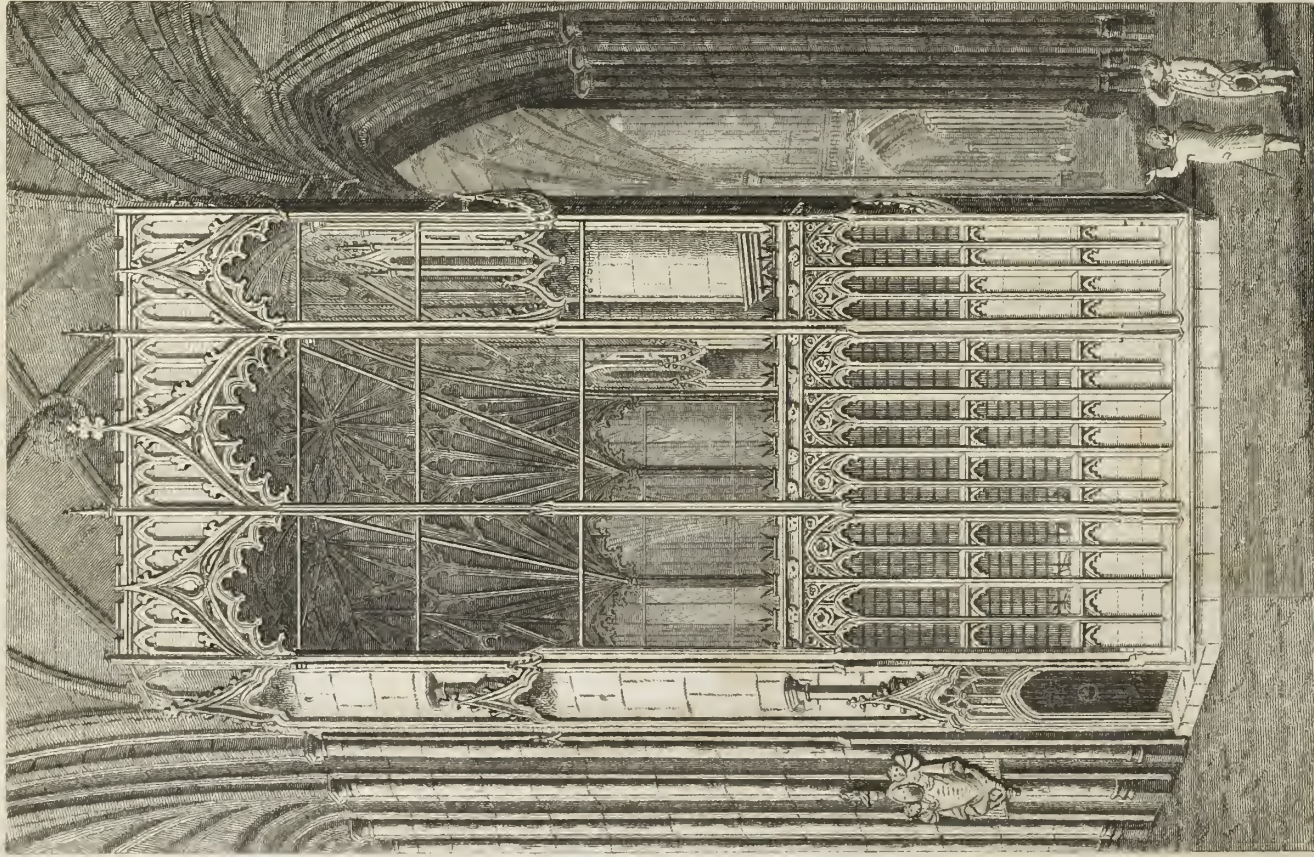
beauties, or its defects. When the first pleasing emotions have in some degree subsided, the imperfections may perhaps next draw his attention. He will wish those lofty pillars, vast as the weight is which they support, and diversified as they are with clustered columns, tori, and other ornaments, were less massive and ample in their circumference; but when he is informed of the cause to which this defect is owing, (1) he will rather applaud than blame the contrivance of the architect who has been able to turn ponderous Saxon pillars and arches into such as are purely Gothic. In the next place the curious spectator, eager to catch a view of the principal and most sacred part of the venerable edifice, finds his view towards the choir and altar intercepted by mean or incongruous objects; a Grecian screen of the composite order, of a different hue from the rest of the stone-work, and shut up with a modern pannelled door and fanlight, fitter for a tavern than a cathedral. In these and such like faults, which are the effect, not of necessity but of choice, we discover the bad taste of modern ages. Formerly the appearance of the sanctuary, and the altar from the west end of the nave was rendered more striking, by being seen through the glade of Gothic pillars and arches, supporting the ancient pulpitum, which enclosed and overlooked the choir to the west, as we shall presently observe.

To prevent confusion, it will be necessary to preserve a certain order in surveying the particular antiquities and curiosities contained within this sacred edifice; for our part, we will observe that order in describing them, which we have followed in numbering them in our ichnographical chart, and which appears to us the most clear and convenient for the spectator.

If, as we proceed from the great doors to survey the south side of the church, we cast our eyes upwards to the ornaments on the orbs of the groining, and on the fascia below the open gallery on each side of the nave, ornaments which are infinitely too numerous to be particularly described, we may distinguish the arms and busts of Cardinal Beaufort and of his

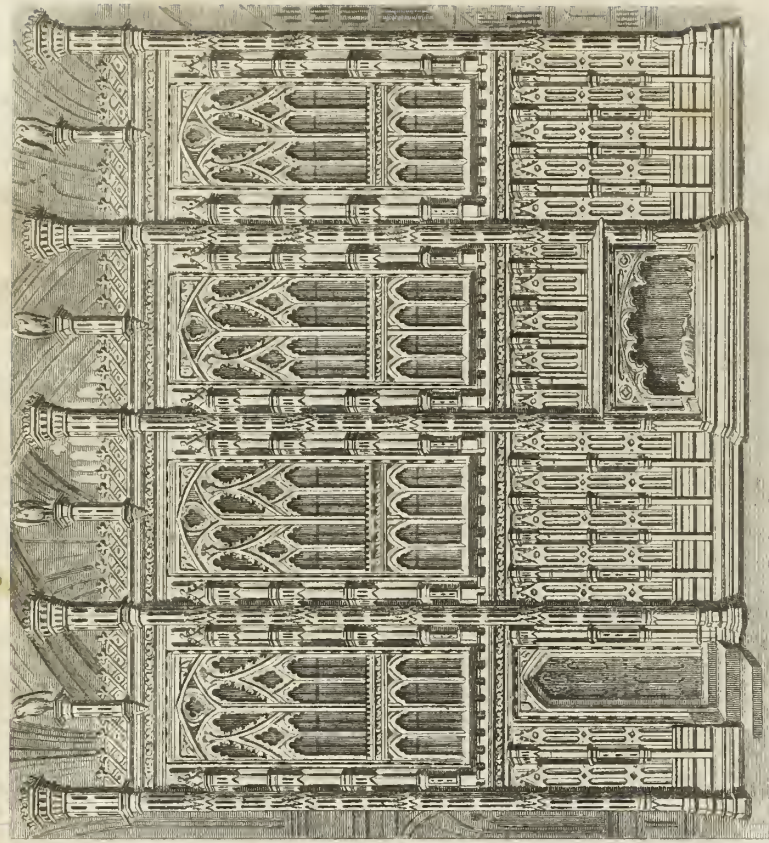
(1) See p. 18.



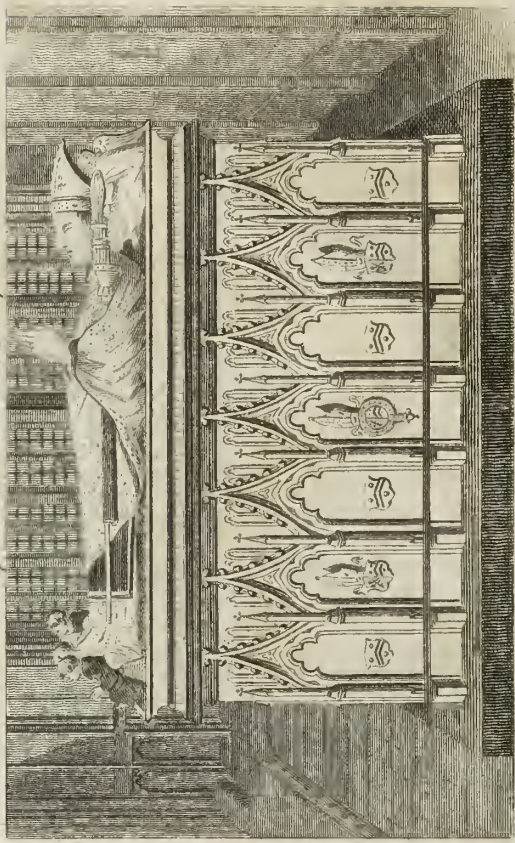


James Gandy delin.

South View of the OUTSIDE of WILLIAM of WYKEHAM'S Chantry,
IN WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.



South View of the CHANTRY of BISHOP FOX.



James Gandy delin.

North View of WILLIAM of WYKEHAM'S Tomb with part of the INSIDE
of his Chantry.

father, together with their devices, the white hart chained, &c. (1) as also the lilly of Waynflete intermingled with the arms and busts of the founder Wykeham. This circumstance proves that the ornamental part, even of the nave, was not finished until a much later period than is generally supposed. The first object that commands our attention in this direction is the tomb and chantry, or mortuary chapel, of the last mentioned illustrious prelate; which occupy the fifth arch from the west end, and were built by his own directions during his life time, for this express purpose. (2) The situation of this chapel is prejudicial to the symmetry of the church; but the founder was determined in the choice of this spot for his burial, as his learned biographer remarks, (3) by his having conceived there those sentiments of tender piety, which he retained throughout his life, and which still breathe in every line of his writings extant. For we are informed that he had been accustomed in his youth, when a student at Winchester, every morning to attend the mass which was celebrated at a very early hour of the morning, by a devout monk of the monastery, one Pekis, at an altar, dedicated to God, under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in that very spot of the ancient cathedral. (4) The design and execution of the work before us are perhaps the most perfect specimens extant of the time when they were performed, being such as the taste of Wykeham relished. The ornaments in general are rich, without being crowded; the carvings are delicate, without being finical. The chantry is divided, in its length, into three arches; the canopies of which, according to a later improvement, are curved to humour the shape of the arches. The middlemost of these, which is the largest, is subdivided below into three compart-

(1) This badge of cognizance was given by John of Gaunt, after his return from Castile, at the justings in Smithfield, as Stow reports. But the king himself, viz. Richard II. also adopted for his device a white hart crowned, gorget, and sitting.

(2) "*Item lego corpus meum, cum ab hac luce migravero, tradendum ecclesiasticæ sepulturæ in medio cujusdam capellæ in navi dictæ ecclesiæ, ex parte australi ejusdem, per me de novo constructæ.*" Testam. W. Wykeham, ap. Lowth.

(3) Lowth, Life of W. W. p. 277.

(4) Ibid. p. 278.

ments; those on the sides consisting of two. There are five tabernacles or niches over the head of the monument, within the chapel, besides those on the outside of it; and ten others at the feet, over the ancient altar, for so many statues of Wykeham's patron saints; amongst which, as bishop Lowth conjectures, was that statue of the Blessed Virgin which had stood against the same pillar, when Pekis's mass used formerly to be said there, and which, with other statues of the same kind, he laments were destroyed by the blind zeal of modern enthusiasm. (1) The foundation of the altar, and a great part of the credence table on the right hand of it, are still visible. The marble figure of this great man, which lies over his mortal remains, exhibits his placid and intelligent features; and is dressed in the complete episcopal costume, of mitre, crosier, gloves, ring, cope, tunic, dalmatic, alb, sandals, &c. which of late have been properly gilt and coloured. (2) The head rests upon a pillow, supported by two angels; and at the feet are three religious men, in the attitude of prayer, with uplifted hands and animated countenances. These are generally said to represent three favourite friars of the deceased, and until about the first edition of this work, they were seen painted in various habits, blue, purple, and grey. The truth however is, they are intended for the three monks of the cathedral, who, as they were weekly appointed to this office, were each of them to say mass in this chapel for the repose of the souls of Wykeham himself, and of his father, mother, and benefactors; particularly

(1) Lowth, *Life of W. W.* p. 279.

(2) This chapel and monument are kept in repair at the joint expence of Wykeham's two foundations, New College, Oxford, and Winchester College. It was repaired and ornamented soon after the Restoration, viz. in 1664, and again in 1741, but with very little judgment as to the distinguishing and colouring of the several ornaments. In the year 1799, the same operation was again performed; the painting and gilding being executed by Mr. Cave, of this city, in a very proper manner, as far as depended upon his taste. The chief faults of the late work are, the gilding of so great a surface; as the whole cope has a tawdry appearance: on the other hand, the whole collection of the orbs in the vaulting of the chantry ought to have been gilded, and not a few of them only. The uppermost leaf ought also to be restored to the flowers at the top of the canopies.

of Edward III. the Black Prince, and Richard II. This was done conformably to a covenant made for that purpose by Wykeham with the prior and community of the cathedral monastery. (1) Notwithstanding the special veneration, in which this friend of his country, of literature, and of Winchester, has ever been held in our city; yet his beautiful monument has not escaped without considerable depredations. The altar and the statues, which to the number of nearly thirty, adorned it, have been destroyed; the upper leaf of the flower in which the canopies terminate, has been broken off; for no other reason which we can discover, except that it bore some resemblance with a cross; and the enchased escutcheons which surrounded the tomb itself, exhibiting the arms and devices of Wykeham, and which are now imitated in colours, have been torn away. The original epitaph, however, in brass letters, curiously inlaid round the marble slab, on which the figure rests, has been spared, and stands as follows:—

Wilhelminus dictus Wykeham jacet hic nece victus:

Istius ecclesie presul, reparabit eamque.

Largus erat dapifer; probar hoc cum divite pauper:

Consiliis pariter regni fuerat bene dexter.

(1) “Imprimis Reverendus Pater in capellâ in quâ suam elegit sepulturam, infra ecclesiam cathedralem in navi ejusdem ex parte australi, habebit tres monachos nostri conventûs tres missas pro eo & suis benefactoribus cotidie specialiter celebrantes.” De Cantariâ W. W. apud Lowth, Append. n. xvi.—On this subject the biographer steps out of his way in order to prove that Wykeham was mistaken in supposing a middle state, and that he could be assisted therein by the prayers of others; maintaining that this opinion merely grew out of the accidental custom of prayers and the celebration of the eucharist being frequently joined with funerals. Life of W. W. p. 272, 273. It is certain, however, that this author would have spared his dissertation, had he attended to the fervent prayers which St. Ambrose offers up for the repose of the souls of his brother Satyrus, and of the emperors Valentinian and Theodosius; to those also which St. Augustine pours forth for the forgiveness of the sins of his deceased mother, in conformity with her dying request; (see his Confessions, book ix, c. 11) and to many passages of the like import in Venerable Bede, in his Ecclesiastical History of our Nation, and the ancient fathers in general. St. John Chrysostome (Hom. 111, in Philippons) expressly asserts that the practice of praying for the dead, in the eucharistic mysteries, was instituted by the apostles, from a conviction that the deceased received great benefit therefrom.

Hunc docet esse pium fundatio collegiorum :
 Deoniae primum fiat Wintoniaeque secundum.
 Iugiter oretis, tumulum quicumque videtis,
 Pro tantis meritis ut sit sibi æta perennis. (1)

We shall, for the present, be sparing in our account of modern monuments and inscriptions, being chiefly intent on the illustration of antiquities; nevertheless we cannot fail pointing out the mural monuments of dean Cheyney and of bishop Willis, which are in the south aisle, near the chantry of Wykeham, as remarkable for their design and execution; particularly the recumbent statue of the bishop, which is as large as life, and inimitable in its kind.—In the same aisle we pass by the monument of the late Dr. Balguy, plain and unostentatious as was the person whom it commemorates; whose genius and learning could only be equalled by his moderation; having refused a bishopric, when pressed to accept of it by the existing prime minister.—Within the nave, near the eighth pillar, on the same side, (to which formerly a small stone pulpit was affixed) is the grave stone of bishop Horne; who, whatever his merits might have been in other respects, was certainly the destroyer of the antiquities of his cathedral, and the dilapidator of the property of his bishopric. (2) His name has of late been fresh engraved on his stone.—Near him lies the last Benedictine prior of the cathedral; who having purchased the favour of Henry VIII. and of his spiritual vicar Lord Cromwell, by violating his solemn vows, leaving his religious brethren to starve, and surrendering his renowned priory to

(1) *William surnamed Wykeham lies here overthrown by death:*

He was bishop of this church and the repairer of it.

He was unbounded in his hospitality, as the poor and the rich can equally prove.

He was likewise a sage politician and counsellor of the state.

His piety is manifest by the colleges which he founded:

The first of which is at Oxford, the second at Winchester.

You, who look upon this monument, cease not to pray

That for such great deserts, he may enjoy eternal life.

(2) See vol. i, p. 370.

be dissolved, was made, in return, first dean of the new establishment. A century back part of his epitaph was legible in the following terms:—*Willimus Kingsmell Prior ultimus, Decanus primus Ecclesiae....obiit 1548.* (1)—In the same row, but on the north side of the nave, lies the successor of Horne, bishop Watson, M.D.—A little higher up, in the centre of the nave, two prelates repose, of opposite characters to Horne and Kingsmell. These are the venerable Walkelin, the builder of the church and priory, (2) and his successor, the conscientious Giffard, (3) the latter of whom preferred the poverty and humility of the cowl to the wealth and splendor of the mitre. (3)

Within the tenth arch from the west end, adjoining to the steps leading towards the choir, is an ancient chantry, by no means to be compared with that of Wykeham, but in the same style of architecture. This contains the monument and the figure of his predecessor, William of Edington, a prelate, in his virtues and talents, only inferior to Wykeham himself. We have elsewhere remarked, that justice has never been done to the memory of this benefactor of our cathedral. (4) A convincing proof of this is the chantry before us, which has been mutilated in former times, and is consigned to dust and oblivion in this. The following jingling epitaph, in what is called Leonine verse, may still be discovered, by cleansing the marble slab in which the brass letters that compose it are inserted, in the same manner as on Wykeham's tomb:

Edyndon natus Wilhelmus hic est tumulatus
Praesul praegratus, in Wintonia cathedratus.
Qui pertransitis, ejus memorare velitis.
Probidus et mitis, ausit cum mille peritis.

(1) See History and Antiquities, &c. by Lord Clarendon and S. Gale.—*William Kingsmell, the last prior and first dean of this church....died 1548.*

(2) “Walkelinus—in navi ecclesiae ad gradus pulpiti jacet humatus.” Epit. Hist. Wint. Ang. Sac. vol. 1, p. 285.

(3) “Willelmus Gyffarde...sepultus est in medio voltae in navi ecclesiae ad gradus pulpiti ad caput Willelmi (Walkelini) episcopi.” Ibid.

(4) See vol. 1, p. 207.

(5) See vol. 1, p. 290.

Perbigil Anglorum fuit adiutor populorum

Dulcis egenorum pater et protector eorum.

W. C. tribus junctum, post L. F. A. sit J punctum

Octaba sanctum notat hunc Octobris innunctum. (1)

Having surveyed this ancient monument; instead of ascending the steps, let us pass by the mural tablet of the late earl of Banbury, and the grave stone of bishop Thomas, near the extremity of the south-west aisle, into the southern transept. Here we view with astonishment the original work of Walkelin, huge round pillars and vast circular arches, piled one upon another to an amazing height, not however without symmetry and certain simple ornaments; whilst other smaller columns, without either capitals or bases, are continued up the walls, between the arches, to the roof itself, which is open to the view. Such was the body of the church before Edington and Wykeham undertook to adorn it; as an attentive examination of the works over the nave and the side aisles still evinces. Upon a comparison of the style of building which the Normans are celebrated for introducing, (2) the character of which is vastness, with the more ornamented style of the pointed architecture; we are forced to own that, if the latter is better calculated to produce sentiments of the beautiful, the former is equally adapted to produce those of the sublime. The west aisle of the transept, which is portioned off from the rest, was the ancient sextry or sacristy, (3) forming now the the chapter house and treasury. It seems to have consisted

(1) *William, born at Edington, is here interred.*

He was a well-beloved prelate, and Winchester was his see.

You, who pass by his tomb, remember him in your prayers.

He was discreet and mild, yet a match for thousands in knowledge and sagacity.

He was a watchfull guardian of the English nation,

A tender father of the poor and the defender of their rights.

To one thousand add three hundred with fifty, ten, five, and one,

Then the eighth of October will mark the time when he became a saint.

(2) "Novum ædificandi genus, &c." Ut supra, p. 9, note 2. Will. Malm. De Gest. Reg.

(3) So called from the sacred vessels, ornaments, and vestments being there kept. The person who superintended this important office was called the Sacristan; whence our word Sexton, who from a keeper of the sacred treasury is now degraded to a digger of graves.

of two separate offices, for which indeed, in such a cathedral, there must formerly have been sufficient occasion. The entrance into it was at the north end of them, at the extremity of the south-west aisle, under the two great arches, now stopped up, but still adorned with rich Norman work. Against the west wall of the transept we see certain ancient presses, bearing upon them the device of Silkstede ; the original use of which seems to have been to keep the great habits of the monks or large outside garments, the use of which was frequently dispensed with, but which they were obliged always to appear in on solemn occasions in the choir. These presses are still made use of for containing the surplices of the choristers and singing men. In the south wall, under the clock, is a door, which conducted into certain offices of the ancient monastery. On the left hand is a calefactory, necessary for preserving fire for the thuribles or censers, which were used in the ancient service, as likewise for the monks to warm themselves in cold weather. On the right hand was another passage into the sacristy or vestry. Over this, is still seen, the staircase leading to the ancient dormitories, from which the monks had a ready passage into the choir to perform their midnight service. We find the east aisle of the transept divided into two chapels. That on the right hand is called Silkstede's chapel, from the circumstance of the letters of his christian name being curiously carved on the open work of the screen which is before it ; yet so that M. A. the monogram of his patroness, the Blessed Virgin, are distinguished from the rest, together with a skein of silk, as a rebus upon his surname. (1) The adjoining chapel is probably that in which the remains of bishop Courtney rest ; where they were covered with a brass, which was removed when that chapel was new paved. This chapel is highly ornamented and well secured ; from which circumstances, and from its situation, we are led to believe that the blessed sacrament used to be kept there for the benefit of the sick and for private communions. Near the entrance of this chapel, on the left hand, close to

(1) Some persons, and amongst the rest Stephens, suppose him to have been buried in this chapel. We shall, in its proper place, give our reasons for assigning a different spot for his grave.

the stone steps which lead up to the iron gate, are two stone coffins with their lids upon them, standing quite out of the ground. That with a mutilated statue upon it we are left to conjecture belonged to an ancient prior; the other we are sure is of this description, from the figure of a cathedral prior, with all his proper ornaments, which is carved on the upper part of it, and from the following inscription which surrounds it:—*Hic jacet Willielmus de Basing, quondam Prior istius Ecclesiae, cujus animae propitiatur Deus, et qui pro anima ejus oraverit, tres annos et quinquaginta dies indulgentiae percipiet.* (1)

Having surveyed the south transept, it will be proper to return into the nave of the church to the steps leading into the choir. In this situation we cannot fail of admiring the elegant skreen, of the composite order, said to have been raised by Inigo Jones, in the reign of Charles I. which, though injurious to the general style of the building, is highly beautiful in itself; as likewise the two bronze statues, one representing that prince, the other representing his father James I. which fill the two niches in it. Nor can the eye, in this situation, be restrained from fixing on that inimitable medallion of bishop Hoadley, against the pillar, on the left hand, over his

(1) *Here lies William de Basing, who was formerly prior of this church, to whoss soul God be merciful, and whosoever prays for the same shall obtain three years and fifty days of indulgence.*—N.B. William de Basing died in 1295.—The easiest method for a modern reader to comprehend the doctrine of indulgencies, is to carry his ideas back to the practice of the primitive church, when a course of penance was imposed on certain sinners for a determinate number of days, months, or years; the whole or part of which was frequently remitted for particular reasons by what is called *an indulgence*. Now the church, in leaving such works of penance to the fervor of Christians, as she now does, instead of enjoining them, as she used to do, teaches that she has the same power of dispensing with them, in whole or in part, for sufficient reasons, that she formerly enjoyed, and that such dispensations avail before God, as well as in her own tribunals. Strange as it will appear to many members of the established church, it is nevertheless demonstratively true, that this church formally sanctions the use of indulgencies, properly so called, and that she does sometimes actually grant them, and that for money, which the Catholic church forbids. See *Articuli Pro Clero*, in bishop Sparrow's Collection, p. 194; also *Constit. Ecc.* p. 253 and 368; all of which regard the commutation and remission of public penance, and the uses to which the money is to be applied, when it is remitted for money.

tomb and epitaph. The hard stone here assumes the soft foldings of the prelate's silken ornaments, and the cold marble is animated with his living, speaking features. But what an incongruous association of emblems do we find crowded in the margin! The cap and wand of liberty are in saltire with the pastoral crosier: Magna Charta is blended with the New Scripture, as forming subjects equally proper for the meditation of a bishop. (1)

Whilst standing at the top of the steps, we are on the spot which was formerly covered by the pulpitum. This answers to the ambo in the basilics of the primitive church, (2) and was used for reading or chaunting the lessons of the divine office; as likewise for containing the organ and the minstrelsy in general, which accompanied the choir below. From the circumstance of the lessons being here read, it is in some countries called

(1) The paragraph which next followed in our first edition, having given great offence to some respectable friends and relatives of bishop Hoadley, is expunged from the present text; but as it has excited a considerable interest in the public, and been productive of important events to the writer, it is here copied into the notes, to gratify the curiosity of the reader. It stood thus: "In vain, however, do we look for the mask and the dagger, to record the dramatic labours of the deceased prelate, from which he is certainly entitled to as much honour as from most of his other writings. One remark more will strike us before we lose sight of this monument. The column against which it is placed has been cut away to a considerable depth, in order to make place for it, evidently to the weakening of the whole fabric. Thus it may be said with truth of Dr. Hoadley, that both living and dying, he undermined the church of which he was a prelate."—Ever ready to acknowledge his real errors, the writer confesses, that in the former part of this passage, where he represented bishop Hoadley as a dramatic author, he was under a mistake. This happened from his confounding Dr. Hoadley, bishop of Winchester, with his son, Dr. Hoadley, chancellor of Winchester. The latter part of the passage has given rise to two distinct controversies, of which the first relates to the *cutting away of the pillar*, in order to receive the monument, and has been agitated between the writer and Dr. Hoadley Ash; whilst the second and more important turns on the *nature and consequences of bishop Hoadley's theological system*, as it regards the Established Church. This has been carried on to a considerable length between the writer, in his *Letters to a Prebendary*, (see 4th edit.) and his respectable antagonist, Dr. Sturges, in the latter's *Reflections on Popery*. See 2d edit.

(2) Du Cange, Glossar. Le Brun, Liturg.

the *Jubé*; (1) and because a great crucifix was always placed in the front of it towards the people, it has also obtained the name of the Rood Loft. The rood or crucifix, with the attendant figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist, which formerly stood over the present spot, were very precious, as well for their antiquity as their value; being the legacy of Stigand, who was bishop of the see of Winchester and archbishop of Canterbury before the Conquest; and being both of a large size and composed of the precious metals. (2) Beneath the crucifix, on the parapet of this loft and the spandrils of the arches supporting it, the histories of the Old and New Testaments were curiously carved and beautified with colours. (3) These being placed directly before the body of the people assembled in the church, formed a series of instructive lessons, which were legible to the most illiterate. Within the side arches, where now the bronze statues stand, it is not unlikely there were two altars: at all events the opinion of bishop Lowth, that the whole of this space before the present screen was a vestry, (4) is utterly improbable. It is also clear that the height of the centre arch, through which the altar was seen from the body

(1) In consequence of the blessing which the lector asks previously to his beginning to read or chant, in the following terms:—*Jubé, Domine, benedicere.*

(2) “*Stigandus magnam crucem ex argento cum imaginibus argenteis in pulpito ecclesiæ contulit.*” Epit. Hist. Wint. Ang. Sac. vol. 1, p. 285.—“*Stigandus... de donis Emmae Reginae condidit magnam crucem, cum duabus imaginibus, viz. Mariæ & Johannis, & illas cum trabe vestitas auro & argento copiosè, dedit Wintoniensi ecclesiæ.*” Annal. Wint. an. 1048.

(3) We learn from Ryves, Foulis, &c. that such carvings formerly existed in the cathedral, and were utterly destroyed by the parliamentary soldiers in the great rebellion; though they do not clearly ascertain the spot which they occupied. What seems probable from different circumstances put together is, that the rood loft with all its carvings had been removed previously to the rebellion, in order to make place for the present Grecian screen, and that the loose carved work was deposited in the church, in order to its being erected in some vacant part of it, when it was seized upon by the plunderers, and demolished in the manner we have mentioned.

(4) Life of W. W. p. 213.





Ja^s Cave del. Winchester. 1808

Ja^s Basire sculp.

View of the Choir, Winchester Cathedral.

Published by Ja^s Robbins. Winchester March 1st 1809.

of the church, was much loftier than the present door of the choir ; as appears from an inside view of the Gothic work over it.

The choir doors now opening, every mind must feel how sequestered—how awful—how fit for prayer and contemplation, this more sacred part of the venerable edifice is. How infinitely more solemn and majestic is the general view of this choir and sanctuary, than that which the neighbouring cathedral of Salisbury presents, after all the thousands which have been lately lavished on it ! The cause of this is, that the present church has been less altered, in this part, from its original plan and disposition, than most others in the kingdom have been ; whereas the proportions and the essential distribution of parts, so admirably calculated and adjusted by the original architects, have been utterly destroyed in the cathedrals of Salisbury, Litchfield, &c. by the presumption of modern builders, who have attempted to improve what they did not even understand. (1) But to proceed to an

(1) The chief alterations which have, of late years, been made in Salisbury cathedral, in conformity with the prevailing taste of new modelling ancient churches, are the following :—1st, The altar screen has been entirely taken away, in order to lengthen the choir, by admitting into it the Lady Chapel and the other low aisles behind it. 2dly, Two beautiful chapels, on each side of the Lady Chapel, at the east end, which could not be brought in to form part of the choir, have been destroyed, and their carved ornaments, in the style of the 15th century, are stuck up in different parts of the church itself, which every one knows to be the workmanship of the 13th century. 3dly, a diminutive communion table, without rails or other fence, is placed at the extremity of the low dark aisles ; where, so far from commanding any respect, it is hardly perceptible. 4thly, To make these alterations, it has been necessary to remove the monuments and disturb the ashes of an incredible number of personages, illustrious for their stations and merits ; bishops, earls, benefactors, founders, and others, entitled to the peculiar respect of those who are connected with the cathedral. With regard to the impropriety of these changes, the author will here barely touch upon a few of the arguments, which he hopes to find another opportunity of stating more at length. In the first place, the cathedrals of the middle ages, like the basilics of primitive times, were not built *merely* to form so many large rooms, in which a great number of persons might assemble together at the same time ; but, like palaces, as the word basilics means, were intended to form corpses of building for a great variety of religious purposes, as may be seen in Bingham, Fleury, Le Brun, Bocquillion, &c. It is therefore a preposterous attempt against the nature and plan of a Gothic cathedral, in our modern architectural reformers,

examination of the scene before us in its several parts. The stalls, with their

to aim at reducing it to one great chamber; an attempt which is as impracticable as it is absurd, in consequence of the transepts, which ever occur in such fabrics, and which they are utterly unable to introduce into their plan. In the second place, the altar is to our ancient churches, what the head is to the human body; every part of the whole fabric has a relation to it, and it can neither be taken away, nor placed in a different situation, without violating the necessary distribution of parts, and the essential connexion of the different members of the sacred edifice. This may be felt better than explained. Let any spectator of taste enter into the choir of Salisbury, with an idea of its being the most sacred part of a Christian church, and the place peculiarly intended for prayer; however his eye may be dazzled with the neatness and freshness which has been obtained by new vamping and varnishes, however he may admire the beauty and magnificence of separate parts before him, yet he will quickly perceive there is something essential that is wanting to the whole. He wanders to and fro without seeing any object which, in a more special manner, fixes his attention, or which determines him, if he is disposed to pray, to turn his face one way rather than another. In a word, he finds a vacuity in the place from whence the altar has been removed, for which nothing can make amends; and discovers that he is in a hall or portico, instead of a choir. It may not be improper here to observe, that this removing of "the chancel from the place it held in times past," is as directly contrary to the canons and discipline of the church of England, and particularly to the first rubric prefixed to *The Order for Morning Prayer*, as it is to the general plan and distribution of an ancient cathedral. Lastly, it is a general principle of architecture, that when the length, breadth, and height of any building have been well calculated, to alter any one of these proportions is to destroy the effect of the whole. Hence, if it were practicable to make any addition, whether little or great, to the length of a building so admirably proportioned as the nave of Salisbury cathedral is allowed to have originally been, though the addition were to be of the same height and construction with it, an architect of taste would refuse to do it; well knowing, as Burke proves, in his *Treatise on the Sublime and Beautiful*, that an undue length in any building or avenue produces the poorest and most disgusting effect possible. What then must be the consequence of lengthening a series of arches, 84 feet high, and supported by suitable pillars, with a second series of arches, which have only 38 feet of height, resting on columns proportionably slender, as has been done in Salisbury cathedral? The evident consequence is, that, as the sight is interrupted and descends, the mind feels an equal depression. Thus the nave and Lady Chapel, majestic and beautiful as they are, when viewed as separate members, cause displeasure and pain, by the ridiculous attempt to form them into one whole. See the Author's *Dissertation on the Modern Style of altering ancient Cathedrals*; Nichols, Red Lion-court, Fleet-street; Robbins, Winchester; Keating and Co., Duke-street, Grosvenor-square.

miserreries, (1) canopies, pinnacles, &c. though of an early date, as being more ancient than the nave of the church, (2) are adorned with a profusion of crockets, foliage, busts, human and animal figures, elegantly designed and executed; and notwithstanding they are soiled and covered with dust, appear highly magnificent and beautiful. The upper range of stalls, however, is disgraced by certain clumsy modern desks and settles, placed beneath them in the last Henry's reign; whose initials, with those of Stephen Gardiner, bishop—William Kingsmill, dean—and their date, 1540, are seen upon them. The stalls are terminated, on the left hand, by the pulpit of the choir; which, amongst other ornaments, executed in cane work, as it is called, bears the name of its donor, *Thomas Silkstede*, prior, repeated on different parts of it. This circumstance has led those, who do not distinguish between the style of this and of the other work, to ascribe the whole of it to prior Silkstede, whose time it preceded by two centuries. (3) On the right hand, opposite to the pulpit, the stalls finish with a modern episcopal throne, in the Corinthian order, the gift of bishop Trelawney, at the beginning of the last century. However elegant in itself, it is immoderately large for the place which it occupies, and ill assorted with the rest of the work in every particular.

(1) That small shelving-stool, which the seats of the stalls formed when turned up in their proper position, is called a *Miserere*. On these the monks and canons of ancient times, with the assistance of their elbows on the upper part of the stalls, half supported themselves during certain parts of their long offices, not to be obliged always to stand or kneel. This stool, however, was so contrived, that, if the body became supine by sleep, it naturally fell down, and the person who rested upon it was thrown forward into the middle of the choir. The present usage in this country is to keep them always turned down, in which position they form a firm horizontal seat, an indulgence that was very rarely granted to those who kept choir in ancient times.

(2) This is plain from the form of the canopies, which is lofty and quite strait, as in the tomb of Edmund Crouchback. In the time of Edward III. and Richard II. these canopies began to assume a winding form, to humour the turn of the arch.

(3) The date in question misleads most spectators at present, as it misled the late Poet Laureate, (see his *Description*, &c. p. 73) and, of course, his humble follower, the Anonymous Historian; see vol. 1, p. 38.

Over the stalls in the middle of the choir, we behold on each side the huge columns and circular arches raised by Walkelin, (1) to support his tower above. This being the only portion of the church, excepting the transepts, which exhibits the nakedness of the Norman architecture, we cannot form any other supposition than that it was the intention of the bishops and priors, whilst the age of building-up existed, and before that of destroying came on, to make this part conformable to the rest, as soon as they should have any funds sufficient for the undertaking; either by rebuilding the tower, with a suitable spire over it, or else by casing it, in the manner of Wykeham's work in the nave. The tower was intended by Walkelin for a lanthorn to the choir, to be left open to the very ceiling over the summit of it; as appears by the ornamented work within it: and it was actually open, at least to the top of the lowermost of the two stories, of which it consists, until the reign of Charles I. when the organ now in use was, on the demolishing of the rood loft, placed by him in its present unsymmetrical situation. At that time the present ceiling under the tower was made and adorned in the manner we now behold it, as the ornaments themselves indicate. These are the arms, initials, and devices of king Charles I. of his royal consort, Henrietta Maria, and of the prince of Wales; as likewise the arms of Scotland and Ireland apart, with those of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury; of Curle, bishop of this see; and of Young, dean of the cathedral. There is also a curious medallion of the royal pair, with their faces in profile, and their legend round it. In the centre is an emblem of the Blessed Trinity, surrounded with the following chronogram:—*SINT DOMUS HUIUS PII REGES NUTRITII, REGINÆ NUTRICES PIÆ.* (3)

The letters here in italics, are gilt and of a larger size than the rest. These being picked out, and placed in proper order, there will be found

(1) "Walkelinus turrim in medio chori, cum quatuor columnis a fundamentis renovavit." Epit. Hist. Wint. Ang. Sac.

(2) *May pious kings be the nursing fathers, and pious queens the nurses of this church.*

M,DC,VVVVV,IIIIIII, equal to 1634, which is the date of the work in question. The corbels, from which the ribs of the vaulting spring, consist of four large royal busts, dressed and coloured from the life, representing Charles and his father James alternately. To the north-east is the bust of James, with his characteristical motto above it, viz. *BEATI PACIFICI*. (1) To the south-east is that of Charles, with this inscription, *VIVAT CAROLUS*. (2) To the south-west James again is seen, and the following words, *PER CHRISTUM CUM CHRISTO*; (3) and to the north-west the reigning monarch Charles, for the second time, as appears from the legend *CHRISTO AUSPICE REGNO*. (4)

Advancing towards the sanctuary or chancel, (5) the first object that is usually pointed out to us is the celebrated altar piece by West, representing our Lord raising Lazarus from the dead. Heretofore pious pictures of every kind, as well as statues, were removed out of churches and destroyed, as tending to superstition and idolatry; but now the use and advantage of them, for informing and exciting the minds of the people, as well as for the decoration of the churches themselves, are admitted; by which means a great source of support and encouragement is opened to our historical painters. Notwithstanding this, it has happened, for causes which it is not necessary here to explain, that our national artists have not succeeded so well on scriptural subjects, as on most others. The picture before us is considered as a master piece of modern painting. But when has modern painting been found equal to a religious subject? When has a Reynolds or a West been able to animate their saints, and particularly the Lord of Saints, with that supernatural cast of features, with that ray of Promethean light, which a Raphael and a Rubens have borrowed from heaven itself,

(1) *Blessed are the peace makers.*

(2) *God save King Charles.*

(3) *Through Christ and with Christ.*

(4) *I reign under the auspices of Christ.*

(5) Called also Presbytery, and by the Greeks "Αγιον, Βημα, &c.

wherewith to inspire them? (1) The apostles here are mere ordinary men, or at most thoughtful philosophers, or elegant courtiers studious of their attitudes; the devout sisters, in the presence of their beloved master, are remarkable for nothing but their beauty and their sorrow. Christ himself, who in the work of Rubens on this subject, treads the air, and with uplifted hands and glowing features, animates us, the spectators, as well as Lazarus, with new life, appears more like a physician, prescribing a medicine for the recovery of his patient, than the great Messiah, who is working an astonishing miracle for the conversion of a nation. If any one will maintain that this tranquil character is more suitable to our Lord, on this occasion, than one of greater feeling and animation; we beg leave to refer him to the inspired history of the event: *Jesus groaned in spirit and was troubled...he wept and he cried with a loud voice: Lazarus, come forth.* (2) Whatever may be said in commendation of the inferior characters, as of the Pharisees, the multitude, and of Lazarus himself, we willingly subscribe to.

This altar piece is fixed under a canopy of wood work, consisting of festoons and other carved work, in alto relievo, and adorned with gilding. In the centre is the characteristical pelican, which misleads some spectators to attribute this work to bishop Fox. The truth, however, is, that it is of a much later date, having been executed, together with the rails, in the reign of Charles I. as appears by his initials upon it. (3) The use of the canopy is to ornament and cover the communion table, which is made to

(1) Let the man of genius who is disposed to doubt of the effect which we ascribe to some of the countenances of the great foreign masters, obtain a sight of that of the Eternal Word creating the universe, by Leonardo de Vinci, in the possession of Mr. Troward, of Pall Mall.

(2) St. John, c. xi. v. 33. 35. 43.

(3) It is certain that neither of these articles would have been tolerated, during the interval that Presbyterianism was the established religion of the cathedral. Hence there is every reason to suppose that they were timely removed, with a view to preserve them, previously to its introduction.

resemble an altar, (1) and actually occupies the spot where the gorgeous high altar of ancient times stood. The nether part or antependium of this consisted of plated gold, garnished with precious stones. (2) Upon it stood the tabernacle and steps (3) of embroidered work, ornamented with pearls, as also six silver candlesticks gilt, intermixed with reliquaries, wrought in gold and jewels. Behind these was a table of small images, standing in their respective niches, made of silver adorned with gold and precious stones. Still higher was seen a large crucifix, with its attendant images, viz. those of the Blessed Virgin and St. John, composed of the purest gold, garnished with jewels, the gift of bishop Henry de Blois, king Stephen's brother. (5) Over this appears to have been suspended, from the exquisite stone canopy, the crown of king Canute, which he placed there in homage to the Lord of the Universe; (4) after the famous scene of his commanding the sea to retire from his feet, which took place near Southampton. (6) This brief account of the ordinary decorations of the high altar, may help us to form an idea of the splendor with which it shone forth on great festivals, and other solemn occasions, when innumerable other ornaments of inestimable value were employed in the divine service. We have related, (7) that in the reign of the munificent monarch just mentioned, the

(1) The word *altar*, says Johnson in his Dictionary, from Junius, is received with Christianity in all the European languages. The Greeks termed it *Θυσιαστήριον* and *ἅγιον ἄλτῳ*, i. e. holy of holies.

(2) This account is chiefly borrowed from the imperfect inventory of the cathedral ornaments, in the *English Monasticon*, vol. II, p. 222.

(3) This seems to be meant by *the front above*, *ibid.*

(4) "Iste benignissimus præsul Henricus....magnam crucem cum imaginibus de auro purissimo ad majus altare et alia ornamenta plurima, quæ lingua non potest enarrare, suæ ecclesiæ contulit." *Epit. Hist. Wint. in Angliâ Sac.*

(5) "Rex deinceps Cnuto nunquam coronam portavit; sed coronam suam super caput imaginis crucifixi, quæ stat in fronte summi altaris in ecclesiâ cathedrali Wyntonîæ, componens, magnum regibus futuris præbuit humilitatis exemplum." Thomas Rudborne, *Hist. Maj. Wint.* l. IV, c. I.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) Vol. I, p. 177.

richness and beauty of the ecclesiastical furniture of this church, was such as to dazzle the eyes of strangers who came to view it; (1) and we have certain proofs, that the sacred treasury instead of being diminished, went on increasing until the reign of the last Henry, when it was divided between him and his sacrilegious courtiers. If any one objects, that this profusion of wealth in churches and in the divine worship is vain and superstitious; we shall content ourselves with observing, that neither in this nor in any other cathedral, it ever equalled that which the Deity himself prescribed, in the Old Testament, for the decorations of his tabernacle and temple, and for the worship performed in them. (2)

A magnificent screen of the most exquisite workmanship in stone, which this or perhaps any other nation can exhibit, forms a back to the altar with its several ornaments, and terminates this most sacred part of the church. We endeavoured to give an idea of the delicate lace-work, on the upper part of this master-piece of workmanship, in the frontispiece of our first volume; but notwithstanding the talents of the gentlemen who designed and engraved it, we have still to lament that the chissel of the 16th century should have hitherto proved so much more delicate, than the pencil and graver of the 18th. The stone work is evidently seen to a great disadvantage, having been neglected for almost 300 years, and being clogged with dust and coarse whitewash; still, however, an attentive view of it, with a perspective glass, will give us a higher idea of its beauty, than it is possible for words to convey. The several niches in it were filled with statues, of a considerable size, probably executed by the same artist who made the screen itself. These, in all probability, represented the ancient patrons of the church, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Amphiballus, together with those bishops of Winchester, whose names were inscribed in the sacred

(1) "*Iste Cnuto rex vetus monasterium Wyntoniensis civitatis tantâ munificentâ decoravit, ut aurum et argentum splendorque gemmarum animos intuentium terreret advenarum.*" Thomas Rudborne, *Hist. Maj.* l. iv, c. i.

(2) See *Exod.* c. xxxv. et *deinceps.* l. alias 3. *Kings*, c. vi.

calendar, Sts. Birinus, Agilbert, Eleutherius, Hedda, Swithun, Frithstan, Brinstan, Elphege the Bald, Ethelwold, and Elphege the Martyr. These statues having been demolished at the Reformation, as superstitious; their places were, at the beginning of the 18th century, with more liberality than taste, filled with Grecian urns, at the expense of Dr. William Harris, prebendary of the cathedral, and master of the college; who also caused the present rich marble pavement to be laid down in the sanctuary. (1) In examining, however, the spandrils of the doors in the screen, we are no less surprised than pleased to find, that the history of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin on one side, and that of the Visitation on the other, carved in basso relievo and coloured, have escaped all violence, and are as fresh as when first executed in the time of bishop Fox. Whilst our eyes are yet feasting on the beauties of this unrivalled screen, it is proper to mention, that proposals have been made to demolish it, together with the oratories behind it; in order to lengthen the choir with the disproportioned aisles of the east end, in the manner that has been so absurdly done in Salisbury cathedral. If any consideration could console us for the weak and tottering state of the whole east end of the church, from the tower to the extremity, it is that it will not admit of the removal of this stay against the inward pressure of the walls and buttresses, without falling in ruins upon the heads of its presumptuous violators.

Immediately above the lace work of the screen, the eye catches the rich painting of the east window, which though clouded with dust and cobwebs, still glows with a richness of colours that modern art has been unable to emulate. This church was once famous for the beauty and perfection of its stained glass; of which, that at the west end was provided by Wykeham; (2) and that of the sanctuary and choir, by Fox. (3) At present we have only the remnants of the work of either of these prelates. The great west window, though it still produces a pleasing effect, especially

(1) By virtue of a legacy of 800*l.* which he left for these purposes.

(2) Vid. Testam. W.W. apud Lowth.

(3) Godwin, De Presul.

when viewed from the sanctuary, is now little more than patch-work; and the eastern window, and other windows round the choir, have been mutilated and arranged in an improper manner, by the persons who replaced them, after they had been taken down in the great Rebellion. This will appear from a careful examination of them, either by means of a glass, or from the organ loft. Thus viewed, we discover in them great merit, particularly in the expression marked on the countenances of the figures; but at the same time we observe, that prophets, bishops, and apostles, are mingled together without any order, and that their legends are frequently misapplied and confused. In the upper row of figures, of the east window, are the figures of our Saviour Christ, and of the Blessed Virgin; between them are certain traces of the usual emblems of the Blessed Trinity; the greater part of which being removed, their place is supplied with the figure of St. Bartholomew, in a much fainter style of painting than the rest. In the adjoining small compartments are seen angels, some holding trumpets, others the arms of the see, or of bishop Fox, whose motto is also there read, *Est Deo Gracia*. (1) In the second tire is a bishop, who appears to be St. Ethelwold, and two prophets; one of whom, by the circular legend round his head, viz. *Contremuit terra moti sunt coeli*, (4) is seen to be Joel. In the lowest range, the two first figures on the left hand are a bishop and an apostle; namely, St. Swithun and St. Peter, as appears by the names on their respective pedestals. Opposite to the last mentioned figure, on their right hand, is that of St. Paul, with his sword. The other representations are those of ancient prophets, one of whom bears the name of *Malachias*, on the border of his mantle. It would take up too much time to describe the paintings on the remaining windows of the sanctuary and choir; (3) which to the number of three on a side, are of a large size, and have the bold circular sweep of the arches in Edward the

(1) *Thanks be to God.*

(2) *The earth hath quaked, the heavens have been moved*, c. II. v. 10.

(3) Two of these have been sacrificed, by being covered over with whitewash, in order to prevent the glare which they were supposed to cast on Mr. West's altar piece.

Third's reign. They chiefly represent prophets, apostles, and other saints, and are no less remarkable for the justness of the drawing, than for the richness of the colours. Most of them may be ascertained either by their legends or the attributes of the holy personages which they exhibit, especially if viewed with the help of a glass or from the adjoining stone gallery.

The vaulting which covers the whole choir and sanctuary, from the tower to the east window, is the work of Fox; and contains on the orbs of the tracery a profusion of arms and other ornaments, curiously carved and richly painted and gilt, in the highest preservation. We observe, in particular, the bearings and devices of the houses of Tudor and Lancaster, together with those of Castile, in honour of John of Gaunt, father of cardinal Beaufort, the latter of whom left money for ornamenting the cathedral; as likewise the arms of the different sees over which Fox had presided. The part of the vaulting, from the altar to the east window, bears none but pious ornaments; being the several implements of our Saviour's Passion; the cross, crown of thorns, nails, hammer, pillar, scourges, reed, sponge, lance, sword with the ear of Malchus upon it, lanthorn, ladder, cock, dice; also the faces of pilate and his wife, of the Jewish high priest, with a great many others, too numerous to be described, but worthy of being noticed by the curious, for the ingenuity of the design, and the original perfection and freshness which they have retained during almost three centuries.

We are now at liberty to view the elegant stone partitions, on each side of the sanctuary, and upper part of the choir, together with the memorials of the illustrious dead, which are seen in this part of the church. The elegance of the design and execution of this work, bespeaks the taste of its architect, bishop Fox, without his initials and the date, 1525, which appear upon it. We find also, the arms and name of St. Edward the Confessor; the initials, arms, and motto of cardinal Beaufort, some of whose money, as we have said, was employed in decorating this part of the church; and of an unknown benefactor, whose initials are W. F. and his motto, *Sit Laus Deo*. The arches in the open-work of this partition, are in the purest

and most finished style of the Gothic, but certain ornaments on the cornices above them are partly Grecian. The mottos under the cornices, are in different characters, that of Fox, viz. *Est Deo Gracia*, (1) which is repeated on the south side, is in the black letter; those of cardinal Beaufort, *IN DOMINO CONFIDO*, (2) and of the unknown benefactor, *SIT LAUS DEO*, (3) on the opposite side, are in the Roman character, though the same date, 1525, occurs on both sides. Thus the precise period is discovered of the decline of the former, and of the ascendancy of the latter.

Upon the top of these partition walls are ranged six mortuary chests, containing the mortal remains of different princes or other personages, eminent for their rank or merits; most of whom are entitled to the peculiar respect of Englishmen and of Christians. The present chests, the work of bishop Fox, are composed of wood, (4) carved, painted, and gilt. They are also surmounted with crowns, and inscribed with the names, and epitaphs in verse of the princes whose bones they contain. It is an unquestionable fact, though it has escaped the observation of all former writers, who have mentioned this subject in latter times, (5) that bishop de Blois, in the 12th century, first collected the remains of the most illustrious princes and prelates, who had been buried in the cathedral, and deposited them in certain coffins of lead, which he placed over the Holy Hole, (6) most

(1) *Thanks be to God.*

(2) *In God is my trust.*

(3) *Praise be to God.*

(4) Godwin. *De Præsulibus*, R. G. in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. II, &c. are mistaken in asserting, that the present chests are made of lead. Most of them have a shell within them, but this also is of wood.

(5) besides the above-quoted Godwin and R. G., Camden, Speed in his *Chorography*, Warton, &c. mention bishop Fox as the person who first translated and enshrined these remains.

(1) “ *Escuinus et Kentwinus, quorum ossa postmodum, tempore Henrici Blesensis Wintoniensis Episcopi, translata sunt, et propter ignorantiam qui essent reges et qui essent episcopi, eo quod non erant tituli inscripti super monumenta eorum, prædictus Henricus episcopus posuit in sarcophagis plumbeis reges cum episcopis et episcopos cum regibus simul permix-*

probably, in the same situations, which the present wooden chests occupy. (1) At the time when the choir was taken down and rebuilt, at the beginning of the 16th century, there was a necessity of removing these coffins; which being probably found too numerous, (2) and not sufficiently elegant, for the situation, which they were intended to occupy, bishop Fox caused the present wooden chests to be made, to the number of six, one to be placed over each arch of the partition. In four of these he deposited the remains of the illustrious princes, to be mentioned beneath, being those those which fortunately could be ascertained. The last chest on each side he filled with the bones of other great personages, which had probably been mixed and confounded together ever since their first translation, almost four centuries before his time; (3) and, in all appearance, burying a second time, time those of different princes and prelates, who were less celebrated for their merits and benefactions to the cathedral. (4)

The first chest from the altar, on the north side, contains two skeletons, those of the first Christian king of the West Saxons, Kynegils, founder of the cathedral, and of the pious king Ethelwolph, here called Adulphus, who was once a subdeacon of the cathedral, and afterwards its great bene-

tos." Rudborne, *Hist. Maj.* l. II, c. I.—This author proceeds to relate, that the bones of the kings Cuthred and Sigebert were deposited in the said chests. "*Ossa Edmundi (fili Alfredi) translata sunt in quoddam sarcophagum locatum super locum nuncupatum The Holy Hole.*" *Hist. Maj.* l. III, c. VI.—"*Cujus sanctissimæ reginæ (Matildis) ossa modo per Henricum Blesensem, fratrem regis Stephani, translata sunt et posita in sarcophago plumbeo cum ossibus nobilissimæ Frytheswydæ reginæ, matris Sanctæ Frytheswydæ virginis, super locum vocatum The Holy Hole.*" *Ibid.* l. V, c. III.—N.B. The said Holy Hole extends from the second screen behind the altar, as far as the bishop's throne.

(1) This is more clear from the situation which our monastic historian assigns in the former choir to the bones of Stigand, being the same they still occupy: "*Stigandus jacet in sarcophago plumbeo ex australi parte summi altaris, juxta cathedram episcopalem.*" *Ibid.* c. IV.

(2) It is plain from the passages of Rudborne, quoted above, amongst many others, that there existed in his time, viz. the middle of the 15th century, the leaden coffins of several princes and prelates, for which there are no mortuary chests at present.

(3) This appears by the words of Rudborne, cited above, from l. II, c. IV.

(4) Such as Escuin, Kentwin, Elmstan, Kenulph, &c. See the last note but one.

factor, and the father of the great Alfred. It is inscribe on one side,

ÆT KINGILS, obit A.D. 641. (1)

and on the other,

ADULPHUS ÆT, obit A.D. 857. (2)

The epitaph is the same on both sides, viz.

Kyngilsi in cista hac simul ossa jacent et Adulphi.

Ipsus fundator, hic benefactor erat. (3)

The second chest, on the same side, contains also two entire skeletons, as they appear to be. One of them is that of Kenewalch, here called Kenulph, the son of Kinegils, and the real builder of the cathedral at the Saxon conversion; the other that of the founder of the English monarchy, the great Egbert. On one side the chest is inscribed,

KENULPHUS ÆT, obit A.D. 714; (4)

on the other side,

EGBERTUS ÆT, obit A.D. 837. (5)

The epitaph is as follows:—

Hic rex Egbertus pausat cum rege Kenulpho,

Nobis egregia munera uterque tulit. (6)

The third chest contained part of the mingled remains of persons of very different stations and characters; the other part of them having been deposited in the corresponding chest on the other side. These were the bones of Canute, the great and good Danish king, of his queen Emma, the fair maid of Normandy, and the special friend of this cathedral; of the tyrannical Rufus; of the good bishop Alwyn; and of the simoniacal prelates Wina and Stigand. It appears that these remains, by some means or other, had got so intermixed from the time of De Blois, that it was

(1) *King Kingils, died A.D. 641.*

(2) *King Adulphus, died A.D. 857.*

(3) *The bones of Kingils and of Adulphus lie together in this chest. The former was the founder, the latter the benefactor of this church.*

(4) *King Kenulph, died A.D. 714.*

(5) *King Egbert, died A.D. 837.*

(6) *Here king Egbert rests, together with king Kenulph. Each of them bestowed great benefits upon us.*

impossible to distinguish to whom they had severally belonged. This circumstance alone can account for the manner of their disposal by bishop Fox in these chests; as likewise for the equal honour which is thereby paid to characters of very unequal merits. These chests having been, in part, violated by the rebels in the great civil war, and many of the bones which they contained having been taken out of them and scattered about the church; such of them as were recovered, at the Restoration, were laid in the two chests last mentioned. The inscription on the chest before us, on one side, is as follows:—

In hac et altera e regione cista reliquiae sunt CANUTI et RUSI regum, EDWAE Reginae, WINAE et ALWANI Episcoporum. (1)

On the opposite side is this inscription: *Hac in cista A. D. 1661, promiscue recondita sunt ossa Principum et Prælatorum sacrilega barbarie dispersa, A. D. 1642.* (2)

We have said that the fourth chest, being the one on the south side directly opposite to that last mentioned, is similar to it, both as to its contents and inscriptions.

In the fifth chest, which is the middlemost on the south side, lies the mortal part of Edmund, the eldest son of Alfred, whom his father caused to be crowned king in his own life time. The son, however, dying before the father, and previously even to the latter's resolution of building the new monastery for the burying place of his family, he was interred in a spot, which we shall afterwards point out, in this cathedral; whence his bones were removed to the present shrine. This bears on each of its sides the following title and inscription:

EDMUNDUS REX, obit A. D.

Quem theca haec retinet Edmundum suscipe Christe.

Qui, vivente patre, regia sceptrum tulit. (3)

(1) In this chest, and in that opposite to it on the other side, are the remains of Canute and of Rufus kings, of Emma queen, and of Wina and Alwin bishops.

(2) In this chest A. D. 1661, were promiscuously laid together the bones of the princes and prelates, which had been scattered about by sacrilegious barbarism in the year 1642.

(3) King Edmund, died A. D. . . Him whom this chest contains, and who swayed the royal sceptre while his father was yet living, do thou, O Christ, receive.

The sixth chest, being that next to the altar on the south side, preserves the relics of the pious king Edred. the youngest of the sons of Edward the elder; who dying rather suddenly, was, by the directions of his friend St. Dunstan, buried in this cathedral, to which he had been a great benefactor. The title and epitaph, supplying the abbreviations, (1) is the same on each side of the chest:

EDREDUS REX, obit A.D. 955.

Hoc pius in tumulo rex Eoredus requiescit
Qui has Britonum terras rexerat egregiae. (2)

(1) N.B. In transcribing these inscriptions we have throughout supplied the abbreviations.

(2) *King Edred, died A.D. 955. The pious Edred rests in this tomb, who admirably well governed this country of the Britons.*

* * In the course of last summer, whilst the author was absent in the north of England, certain gentlemen of distinguished talents and learning, officers in the West York regiment of militia, being desirous of investigating the antiquities of this city more attentively and minutely than is usually done by strangers; obtained permission to open certain tombs in the cathedral, and to examine the contents of the mortuary chests round its choir. Having completed these scientific researches, with all the respect that is due to the illustrious dead; one of their number, Henry Howard, Esq. of Corby Castle, was so obliging as to communicate to the author a very perspicuous account of their discoveries; an extract from which, with his permission, relating to the contents of the chests, is here inserted, for the information of the reader.

“ July 7, assisted by Mr. Hastings, surgeon of the North Gloucester militia, we looked into the different chests, said to contain the bones of the Saxon kings. The first chest, inscribed Kingils and Adulphus, contains two skulls and two sets of thigh and leg bones. We measured the skulls and thighs to find out whether there was any difference in the size from that of the present race of men, and found the first skull from the posterior part of the ossa temporis. to measure $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and the second skull $5\frac{1}{16}$ inches. Ditto, from the inferior part of the os frontis to the os occipitis, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Second skull ditto. These measurements, and indeed those of the others, prove that there was no superiority of size. From the contents of the chest it does not appear that the bones do not belong to the kings with whose names it is inscribed.

2d chest, inscribed Egbert and Kenulph. This contains three skulls, one of which is very small. One thigh bone, wanting a fellow, is very stout, and measures $19\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. But the two leg bones, one of which is rather deformed, and the two hip bones belonging to this body, are in the chest, and answer exactly. There are also two other thigh bones and two leg

We shall now mention such other monuments and graves of princes and prelates as occur in this part of the church. Under the chest of Egbert is a table monument, half let into the partition wall, which incloses the body of the religious bishop John de Pointes or de Pontissara, the founder of the ancient college of St. Elizabeth, close to Wykeham's college of St. Mary, near this city. The epitaph is this :

**Defuncti corpus tumulus tenet iste Joannis
Pointes, Wintoniae Praesulis eximii.—obit, 1304. (1)**

Against the wall, near the pulpit, is a similar monument, containing the ashes of bishop Richard Toclive or of Ilveschester, the successor of Henry de Blois, with this inscription :

**Praesulis egregii pausant hic membra Ricardi
Toclyve, cui summi gaudia sunt poli. (2)**

Immediately before the ancient high altar lie the remains of the once great and powerful prelate Henry de Blois. (3) But he who appears to have

bones that pair, so that with the exception of the third skull, these may be the bones of the aforesaid kings.

3d and 4th chests, bearing the names of Canute, Rufus, Emma, Wina, Alwin, and Stigand. Neither of these contains any skull, but they are full of thigh and leg bones, one set of which, in the third chest, is much smaller and weaker than the rest. This with the supernumerary skull in the second chest, might possibly have belonged to queen Emma.

The fifth chest, inscribed Edmund, contains five skulls and three or four thigh bones. One of the skulls, from the state of the sutures, belonged to a very old man, another also belonged to an old person ; these, therefore, might have belonged to Wina and Alwin.

The sixth chest, inscribed Edred, contains many thigh bones and two skulls. It is to be observed, that the skulls actually at present in the chests are twelve in number, which is also the number of the names inscribed on the same chests. It will also appear, from the size of the bones, that there was no difference of stature from the present age."

(1) *This tomb contains the body of John Pointes, an excellent bishop of the see of Winchester, who died in 1304.*

(2) *Here rest the limbs of the good bishop Richard Toclve. May he enjoy the bliss of heaven above.*

(3) "Iste Henricus...sepultus est in ecclesiâ suâ coram summo altari." Epit. Hist. Wint. Ang. Sac. vol. 1.

preserved the memory of so many other illustrious personages, by translating and enshrining them, is himself destitute of every memorial in the cathedral. Lower down, at the bottom of the steps descending into the choir, lies the noble-minded monk and bishop, Henry Woodlock, or de Marewell.

(1) He also is without a monument; nevertheless, it appears that his grave was discovered (2) at the last paving of the choir, and that an episcopal ring of solid gold, inclosing an amethyst, was found in it, of which the then dean (Ogle) obtained possession. We have hitherto omitted to mention the tomb of the last of our monarchs, who was interred in this ancient mausoleum of royalty, William Rufus; though it is one of the most conspicuous objects in this part of the church, being situated near the steps, in the middle between the north and south doors of the choir. It consists of English grey marble, being of the form that is called *Dos d'Ane*; and is raised about two feet above the ground. By whom, or on what occasion, his bones were removed out of the tomb and enshrined, does not appear; it is probable, however, that this was done by bishop de Blois, from a too partial respect for his uncle, when he paid that honour to the remains of so many other more deserving personages. It may be asked, why the tomb of Rufus was left to remain, after the bones had been removed out of it? The answer is, that this was the usual practice on similar occasions. For we are to observe, that unless the bodies were found entire, the bones only, and of these probably only the greater, used to be translated, after they had been washed in wine and water. (3) The other remnants of mortality, with the clothes and ornaments, were usually left behind in the tombs. Hence we find the tombs of many saints or other illustrious personages still remaining, after their bones had been enshrined.

(1) "Henricus Wodelok...sepultus est ad gradus chori." Ibid.—See his history, vol. I, p. 275.

(2) From the account here given of the respective situation of Woodlock's grave and that of De Blois, it is much more likely, that the episcopal ring found on the paving of the choir, near the tomb of Rufus, belonged to the former than to the latter prelate.

(3) Gervas. Dorob.

In conformity with this account, we are informed, that when the present royal tomb was violated by the rebels of the last century; there was found in it the dust of the king, with some pieces of cloth embroidered with gold, a large gold ring, and a small silver chalice. (1) We shall notice only one more monument in this part of the church, viz. that of bishop Cooper, which, with the copious epitaph engraved upon it, seems to be covered by the di-proportioned episcopal throne, (2) erected at the beginning of this century. The other epitaphs, which former writers have mentioned, as being on the north partition wall, we do not describe, because in fact they not exist there. (3)

(1) Gale's Antiq.

(2) Godwin, De Præsul. Gale's Hist.

(3) It might seem astonishing that Warton, Descript. p. 81, and the Anonymous Historian, vol. 1, p. 54, should so positively assert that there are on the north partition wall, epitaphs in verse, which they insert in their books, on bishop Alwyn and queen Emma, when no such verses exist, or could have existed at the time they wrote; did not we clearly discover, that instead of making use of their own eye sight, in describing a cathedral, which they had so often occasion to enter, they copied Gale's short History of the Cathedral, published in the year 1715. It may, however, still be asked, how Gale himself came by these epitaphs? The only way of solving this difficulty, and of vindicating the truth of the inscriptions, on two of the chests above described, is, by supposing that the lines in question were inscribed upon the leaden coffins of the said personages, or upon some monument near them, in the ancient choir, before the renewal of it by Fox; and that having met with these lines in some old manuscript, or other account of the choir, in its former state, he supposed them still to exist there.—Having made this observation, we will here, in the notes, give the several epitaphs; not doubting of their being genuine, and that they were to be seen, in part of the choir, 300 years ago. That of bishop Alwin, guardian of Emma, and afterwards monk, sacristan, and bishop of this church, was as follows:—

Hic jacet Alwini corpus, qui munera nobis
Contulit egregia, parito Christo pio.

Here lies the body of Alwin, who bestowed many noble presents upon us. Have mercy, O Christ, upon thy pious servant.

The epitaph of Emma contained an abstract of her history in the following lines:

Hic Emma regis Regina continet ista.
Duxit Etheldredus Rex hanc, et postea, Cnutus.

Leaving the choir, by the south door, we enter into the south-east aisle, which, as well as the corresponding part of the choir and the opposite aisle, bears the devices and marks of its last founder, bishop Fox, in every part. Near the door, on the partition wall, to the eastward, is seen an inscription for the heart of bishop Nicholas de Ely, there deposited. He was a great patron of the Cistercian monks, and particularly, as we have remarked, (1) of their convent of Waverly, near Farnham. He

Edwardum parit hæc, ac Hardicanutum.
Quatuor hos reges vidit sceptrā tenentes.
Anglorum Regum fuit hæc sic mater et uxor.

The sense of this epitaph may be thus rendered into English. *Here rests, in this chest, queen Emma. She was first married to king Ethelred, and afterwards to king Canute. To the former she bore Edward, to the latter Hardicanute. She saw all these four kings wielding the royal sceptre: and thus was the wife and mother of English kings.*

Two other epitaphs for bishops of this see are to be met with in Gale, which are transcribed by Warton and his follower the Anonymous. The first of these also occurs in Godwin, though it certainly was never to be seen in the cathedral, since the alterations made by Fox in the chests and partition wall. This is to the joint memory of Elmstan, or Helmstad, the predecessor of St. Swithun, and of Kynulph or Elsius, who had been a monk, before he became bishop of this cathedral in 1006, and stood thus:—

Pontifices hæc capsa duos tenet incineratos
Præmus Christianus, huic successorque Kynulphus.

This chest contains two prelates now reduced to ashes, Elmstan, and his successor Kynulph.

The other epitaph was inscribed on the leaden coffin of the noble and learned, but ambitious prelate, Alfymus, or Elsinus; who, being raised from the see of Winchester to that of Canterbury, perished in the snow upon the Alps, whilst on his way to Rome to procure the metropolitanical pall. His body being brought back to England, was buried in his cathedral of Winchester, over which was afterwards placed this epitaph:

Alfymus plumbo præsul requiescit in isto.

In English: *In this lead reposes bishop Alfymus.*—We must not forget to mention the original epitaph of the great Canute, who was first buried before the high altar, which Trussel informs us was the following jingling line:—

Horious inclutus jacet hic rex nomine Cnutus.

Here lies king Canute, illustrious for his conduct.

(1) See vol. i. p. 249.

accordingly directed his body to be there interred, leaving his heart only to his cathedral. The inscription is as follows:—

Intus est cor Nicolai olim, Winton episcopi, cuius corpus est apud Waverlie (1)

Further eastward, within the partition wall, is the marble coffin of Richard, second son of William the Conqueror; who came to an untimely end while hunting in the New Forest, before his brother Rufus and his nephew Richard, son of his eldest brother Robert, met there with the same fate. Over the coffin is the following epitaph, in the characters of Fox's time:—

Intus est corpus Richardi, Wilhelmi Conquestoris filii et Beorniae Ducis. (2)

Proceeding in the same direction, on the pavement, close to the south wall,

(1) *Within this wall is the heart of Nicholas bishop of Winchester, whose body lies at Waverly.*

(2) *Within this wall is the body of Richard, son of William the Conqueror and Duke of Beornia.* On the subject of this title the learned gentleman who described the contents of the mortuary chests, has favoured us with the following observations: “*Beornie Ducie* is supposed by some to be an additional title, but besides it being, I believe, unusual in those times to add titles to a name in that manner, it would be difficult to determine what is meant by it. Bearn, Berry, or the Barrois, are provinces to which I believe William laid no claim. But I conceive that this tomb contains, like many others in the cathedral, the remains of two great personages. Earl or duke Beorn (these two titles being used indiscriminately at the time in question) was a personage well known in Canute's and Edward's reign. He was the son of Ulfphon by Estrith, sister to Canute the Great, and when Swayne, the second son of Earl Godwin, being outlawed for a crime, flew into rebellion, and, manning eight ships, committed acts of piracy on the coast, was persuaded by earl Godwin to repair to him, and endeavour to bring him back to his duty. Swayne supposing Beorn came to betray him, slew him with his own hand; and, according to the Saxon Annals, had him buried in a church near the spot. But his relations dug up his body, and interred it at Winchester, near the remains of his uncle Canute.” This supposition, however difficult to reconcile with the inscription made in the time of Fox; becomes much more probable upon attending to the original epitaph in the characters of the eleventh century, which are still plainly legible on the marble coffin itself, from which bishop Fox's is a manifest deviation, viz.

HIC JACET RICHARDUS WILHELMII CONQUESTORIS FILII ET BEORN DUX.

is the grave-stone of a bishop, as appears by the mitre and other ornaments cut upon it, in order to receive a rich and elegant brass engraving of the deceased, which is now torn away. It is not of a very high antiquity, as is plain from the form of the mitre and the known date of the introduction of sepulchral brasses. This used to be pointed out as the grave of Fox, who is certainly known to have been buried under his own chapel. All doubt, however, on this head was removed in the summer of 1797, when the stone was found to have no grave at all under it. (1) Hence we must conclude that it has been removed from its original situation in the choir, or some of the chapels, on new paving it; and, from different circumstances, there appears more reason to suppose that it belonged to bishop Courtney, who died towards the end of the fifteenth century, than to any other of our prelates.

From this station we have a distinct view of the gorgeous chantry (2) of the founder of this principal part of the church, bishop Fox. There is a luxuriance of ornament in the arches, columns, and niches, with which it is covered, that baffles minute description, and might appear excessive, were not the whole executed with exact symmetry, proportion, and finished elegance, and had it not been the architect's intention to shut up this chapel from the side aisle. Even the groining in the small niches, which are multiplied upon it to the number of fifty-five, is a matter of attention and study; being different in each of them, and yet all formed on true architectural principles. In an elegant oblong niche, under the third arch, lies the figure of the founder, which he, for the sake of humility and public instruction, chose should be represented as an emaciated corpse in a winding

(1) " We took up the slab called Fox's tomb, which had probably been removed to the place in which it lies from some other part of the church, and there was nothing under it but the arch of the crypt below." Extract from Minutes of Researches in Winchester cathedral in July 1797, drawn up by H. H. Esq.

(2) See the engraving of it in the present volume.

sheet, with the feet resting on a death's head. (1) We have positive assurance that this is the real resting place of his venerable ashes. (2) Entering into this little chapel, we cannot fail of experiencing some of those awful and pious sentiments which the venerable deceased, whose ashes are under our feet, so often indulged here; who, from the hours of devotion which he spent in this destined spot of his interment, obtained for it the name of *Fox's Study*. The beauty and solitude of this oratory must have been greatly heightened by the painted glass which, we are informed, filled all the open work of the arches, until it was destroyed in the Grand Rebellion. (3) The ceiling is rich with the royal arms of the house of Tudor, emblazoned with colours and gilding, and with the founder's own arms and chosen device, the pelican, which is repeated so many hundred times on his different works in this cathedral. This was intended by him to express his ardent devotion to the sacrament of the altar, (4) which also caused him to denominate his magnificent foundation at Oxford *Corpus Christi College*. The same devotion appears in the emblems of the Blessed Sacrament and of the Passion, supported by angels, which are seen over the place where the altar stood; as likewise in the inscription taken from the ancient church office on this subject, which is still legible: O SACRUM CONVIVIVM IN QUO CHRISTUS SUMITUR. (5) The upper part of the altar was adorned with three large statues and nine small ones, which are now destroyed, but their gilded niches still remain in perfect preservation. On the side of

(1) In the folio plate of the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. II. from a drawing of Mr. Shenebelie, though large enough to represent these particulars at the head and feet, yet they are omitted. A more striking defect is, that the corpse there appears to be that of a muscular young man.

(2) "Capellam apud Winchester magnificis sumptibus constructam crexit, & ibidem honoratissimè sepultus jacet." Will. de Chambre, *Contin. Hist. Dunelm. Ang. Sac.* vol. DCCCLXXIX. "Tumulatus jacet monumento parieti indito & inserto." Godwin de Præsul.

(3) Warton's *Hist. Eug. Poetry*, vol. I.

(4) The pelican was said to be a bird that made use of its beak to tear open its own breast for the purpose of feeding its young ones with its blood.

(5) *O sacred banquet, in which Christ is received!*

the altar is a door-way, which leads into a little vestry that seems to have been appropriated to this chantry, where the ambries belonging to it still remain.

We pass from this chapel to another, much larger, parallel with it, but quite plain and unadorned. This, however, was formerly the richest part of the whole church; for here the magnificent shrine of St. Swithun, of solid silver gilt and garnished with precious stones, the gift of king Edgar, (1) used to be kept; (2) except on the festivals of the saint, when it was exposed to view upon the altar, or before it. It is not unlikely that other shrines were kept in the same place, ranged against the eastern wall, on which may still be seen some painted figures of saints. This chapel is directly behind the high altar, and formerly communicated with the sanctuary by the two doors, which are still there seen: it is, notwithstanding, a twofold error in our domestic writers to term this place the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and to describe it as the place from which the priest was accustomed to approach the high altar; (3) which is to confound it with the sacristy or vestry. It was certainly furnished with an altar; the back screen of which, consisting probably of ornamental wood-work, seems to have been fastened by certain staples which still remain. We are assured of this fact, from the circumstance of the early conventual mass, immediately after the holding of chapter, being celebrated here every morning; (4) from which circumstance it may be called the capitular chapel.

(1) "Sanctum Swythunum hujus ecclesiæ specialem patronum, de vili sepulchro transtulit, et in scrinio, argento et auro a rege Edgardo cum summâ diligentîâ fabricato honorificè collocavit." Hist. Maj. l. II. c. XII.

(2) Inventory of the Cathedral Monasticon, vol. II. p. 222.

(3) Warton's Description, p. 75. Anonymous History, vol. I. p. 41.—The Greeks indeed, as we have seen, called the altar by the name of ἁγίον ἁγίων; but there is no such name as *Sanctum Sanctorum* in the whole Latin liturgy.

(4) "Primogenitus (Alfredi) vocabatur Edmundus, quem pater, adhuc ipsomet in humanis agente, fecit inungi et in regni monarcham coronari, qui non multo post, ante patrem mortis nexibus deprimitur, et in veteri monasterio Wyntoniensi sepelitur; ut satis clarè apparet intuentibus lapidem marmoreum tumbæ ipsius, qui jacet adhuc in terrâ ex boreali parte altaris ubi missa matutinalis sive capitularis celebratur." Hist. Maj. l. III. c. VI.

On the left of this chapel, corresponding with Fox's chantry, but widely different from it in its architecture and in every other respect, is that of bishop Gardiner; being an absurd medley of the Gothic and Ionic, both indifferent in their kinds. On the pavement of this chapel is the tombstone of Edmund the son of Alfred, whom we only know to have been a king from his epitaph, engraved in Saxon characters upon it, and from the text of its commentator, the monk of our cathedral. (1) The rest of the pavement, together with the iron bars which secured the chapel, have been torn away out of hatred to bishop Gardiner. It is thought also that his bones have been removed out of their sepulchre, and that those which are still seen in a large antique coffer at the upper end of the chapel, form part of them, (2) which no person since has had the humanity to cover. Whatever might have been the character of their owner, certainly in their present abject state, handled and thrown about every day in the year, they seem to call upon the spectator, with the unburied skeleton of Archytas:—

At tu vagæ ne parce malignus arenæ

Ossibus et capiti inhumato

Particulam dare.

HORAT. l. i. Od. xxviii. (3)

Returning the way by which we went, through the capitular chapel and Fox's chantry; when we have turned round the corner of the latter, we find ourselves in what may be called De Lucy's church. In fact, this is

(1) "Et est epitaphium (supradicti Edmundi) in marmore scriptum istud. Hic jacet Edmundus Rex Eweldredi regis filius. Ossa vero Edmundi regis jam translata sunt in quoddam sarcophagum locatum super locum nuncupatum *The Holy Hole*." Ibid. Rudborne, on this occasions, mentions that the said heroic monarch bore five different names, viz. Alured, *Alfred*, Elured, *Elfred*, and *Eweldred*. The three names in italics are here given, according to their true reading, from the original epitaph, and other authentic records, instead of the faulty text of Warton. The last name is not even rightly copied in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, the draughtsman having mistaken a Saxon W for a G. The name is accordingly there printed *Egeldredi*.

(2) A few years back there were many bones besides those now in the coffer, and amongst the rest a skull.

(3) *Nor thou, my friend, refuse, with impious hand,*

A little portion of this wand'ring sand

To these my poor remains.

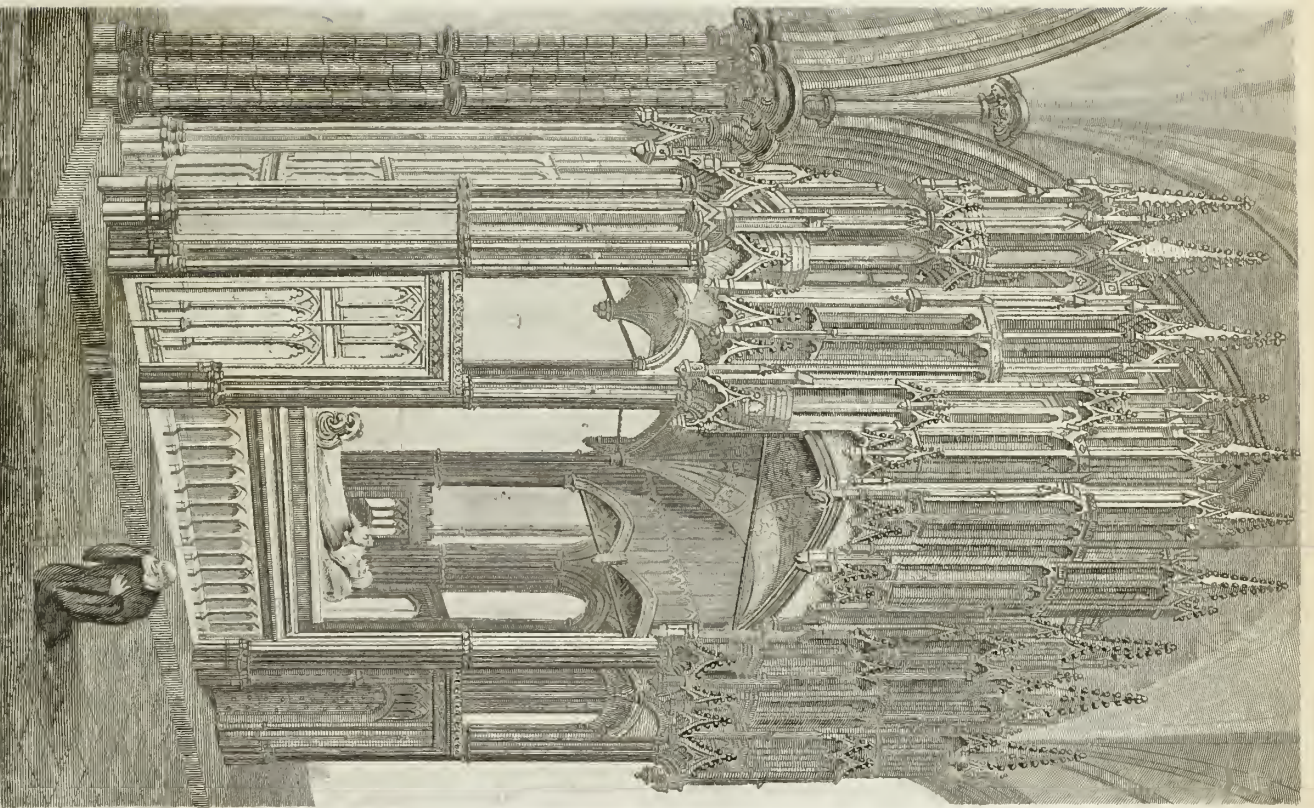
FRANCIS.

evidently the workmanship of that munificent prelate, and the early stage of Gothic architecture, as we have proved, against our Winchester antiquaries, (1) in our survey of the outside of this church; and as the glance of an eye here within it will at once convince the intelligent spectator. The objects which first arrest our attention in this part, are the magnificent chantries of cardinal Beaufort and of bishop Waynflete; which correspond with each other in form and situation, filling up the middle arch on each side. The former of these, for elegance of design and execution, would be admired by the generality of spectators, no less than by connoisseurs, as the most elegant chantry in the cathedral, if not in the whole kingdom; were it not neglected and consigned to dust and ruin, equally by his family, his foundation, and his cathedral; to all which he proved so liberal a benefactor. The columns, though of hard Purbeck marble, are shaped into elegant clusters. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the fan-work in the ceiling; of the canopies with their studded pendants; and of the crocketed pinnacles; though of these a horse load has fallen, or been taken down, which are kept in one of the neighbouring chapels. The low balustrade and tomb are of grey marble; the latter is lined with copper, and was formerly adorned on the outside with the arms of the deceased, enchased on shields. There was also originally an inscription on a brass fillet round the upper part of the tomb, as is still seen on those of Edington and Wykeham; but the greater part of this was torn away in the reign either of Edward VI. or Elizabeth: as, when Godwin wrote, (2) only the following words remained upon it, which now also have disappeared: *Tribularet, si nescirem misericordias tuas.* (3) The humble hope however expressed in these words, which were probably of the deceased's own choosing, the pious tenor of his will, which was signed only two days before his death, and the placid frame of

(1) The Rev. Thomas Warton, and bishop Lowth. See above, p. 16.

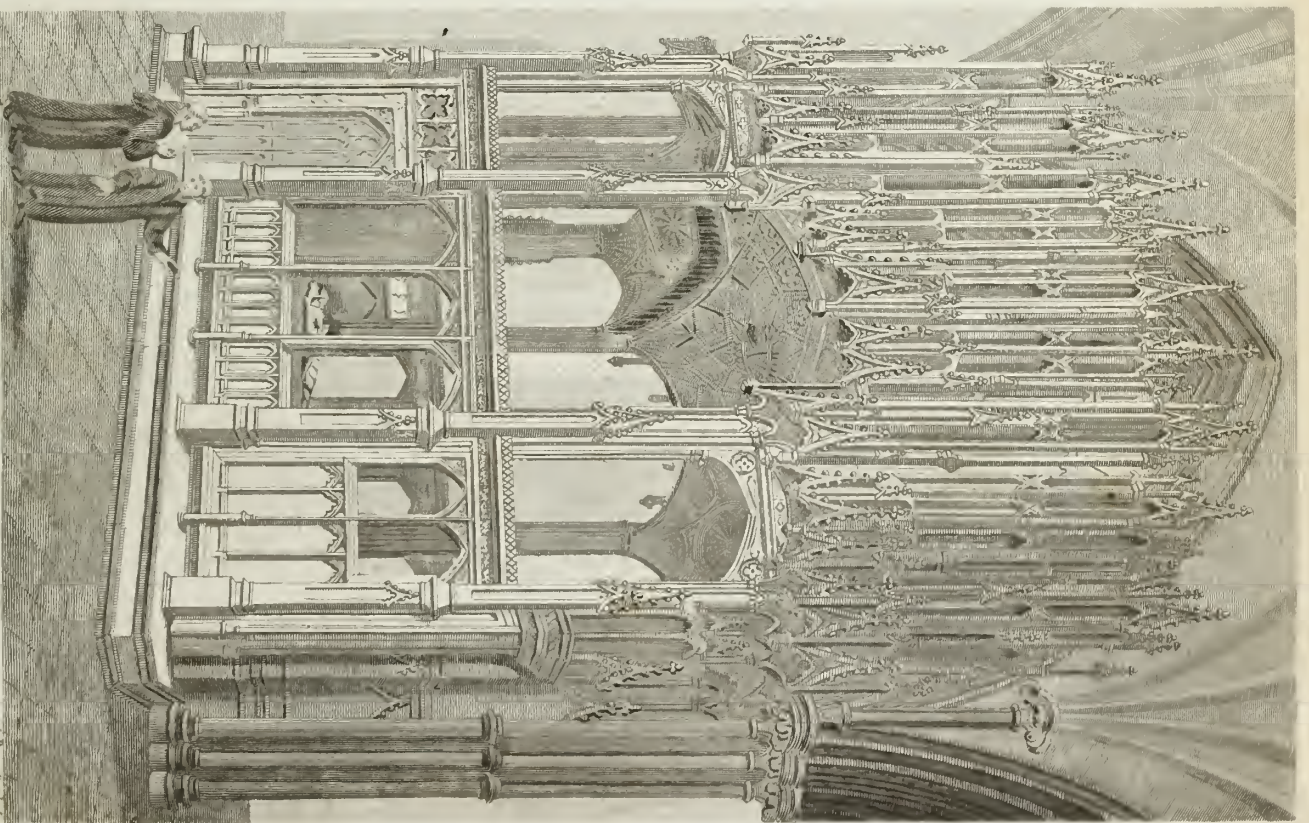
(2) He wrote his Commentary in the reign of James I.

(3) *I should be in anguish, did I not know thy mercies.*—This express passage, however, is not in the book of Psalms, nor in any other part of the scriptures, as the learned R. G. supposes in *Vetust. Monum.* (Soc. Antiq. vol. 11), but forms part of an antiphon in the Roman Breviary.



View of the interior of Cardinal Beaufort's library.

Engraved by J. G. Thompson.



View of the interior of Bishop Newnham's library.

Engraved by J. G. Thompson.

his features in the figure before us, which is probably a portrait, lead us to discredit the fictions of poets and painters, who describe him as dying in despair. (1) The figure represents Beaufort in the proper dress of a cardinal, the scarlet cloak and hat, with long depending cords ending in tassels of ten knots each. (2) At the upper end of the chantry, under a range of niches, which have been robbed of their statues, stood an altar; at which, in virtue of his last will, three masses were daily said for the repose of his own soul and those of his parents and royal relations therein mentioned. (3)

The opposite chantry, that of bishop Waynflete's, is likewise incomparably beautiful, and by most spectators is preferred to the one which has been just described. The great advantage, however, which it has over it, is in the attention that is paid by his children of Magdalen College, Oxford, to keep it clean and in perfect repair. The central part of the chapel, which in Beaufort's monument is left open, is here inclosed with light arch-work, surmounted with an elegant cornice, in which, and in the work in general, we observe that the arches begin to flatten. The figure of the bishop appears in his full pontificals, of mitre, crosier, casula, stole, maniple, tunicle, rochet, alb, amice, sandals, gloves, and ring. He is represented in the attitude of prayer, emblematically offering up his heart, which he holds in his hands, in allusion to that passage of the Psalmist, *My soul is always in my hands*. (4) but there does not appear ever to have been an inscription on the tomb.

In a line with these two chantries, against the south wall, is the marble figure, in an erect posture, of Sir John Clobery, ornamented with all kinds of modern military accoutrements and emblems. The taste and execution of this figure and monument, when contrasted with those of cardinal Beaufort near it, are by no means calculated to prove the superiority of the 17th century over the 15th, in the cultivation of the liberal arts. The epitaph

(1) Shakespeare and Sir Joshua Reynolds; the former in his Henry VI. the latter in a celebrated picture in the Shakespeare gallery.

(2) Even such minutiae as these were settled in the ceremonial of past times.

(3) Vetust. Monum.

(4) Ps. 118 alias 119.

however has more merit, and, though of late date, deserves to be here inserted for the information which it conveys:

M. S.
Johannis Clobery, militis.
Vir in omni re eximius,
Artem bellicam
Non tantum optime novit
Sed ubique felicissime exercuit.
Ruentis patriæ simul et Stuartorum
domus
Stator auspicatissimus,
Quod Monchius et ipse
Prius in Scotia animo agitaverant,
Ad Londinum venientes,
Facile effectum dabant.
Unde
Pacem Angliæ, Carolum II^{um}
solio
(Universo populo plaudente)
Restituerunt.
Inter armorum negotiorumque
strepitum,

(1) Sacred to the memory of
 Sir John Clobery, knight.
 Excelling, as he did in every thing,
 He in such manner cultivated the military art,
 As not only thoroughly to understand it,
 But also to apply it to the best purposes.
 Becoming the prop of his falling country,
 And of the House of Stuart,
 He planned those measures
 With his friend Monk in Scotland,
 Which, when they came to London,
 They happily brought to pass;
 By which peace was restored to England,
 Charles II. to his throne,
 And unbounded joy to the whole nation.

(Res raro militibus usitata)
Humanioribus literis sedulo incu-
built,
Et singulares animi dotes
Tam exquisita eruditione expolivit,
Ut Athenis potius quam castris
Senuisse videretur.
Sed, corpore demum morbo langue-
scente,
Se tacite mundi motibus subduxit
Ut cælo, quod per totam vitam
Ardentius anhelavarat, unice va-
caret.
Obiit Anno { *Salutis 1687.*
 { *Ætatis suæ 63.*
Hoc monumentum charissima de-
functi
Relicta, ceu ultimum amoris indi-
cium
Poni curavit. (1)

Amidst the noise of arms and public business,
 (A rare example to soldiers)
 He applied himself to intense study,
 And to the cultivation of his singular talents,
 So as to appear to have spent his life
 Rather in the academy than in the camp.
 At length his corporal strength failing him,
 He withdrew himself from worldly concerns,
 That he might better prepare himself for heaven,
 Which had long been the only object of his wishes.
 He died in the year { of our Lord 1687,
 { of his age 63.
 His faithful widow
 Caused this monument (the last mark of her love)
 To be here erected.

Advancing beyond two grand chantries in the middle of the centre aisle, before the entrance into the chapel of the Virgin Mary, we come to a flat monument of grey marble, without inscription or ornament upon it, raised about two feet above the ground. This is pointed out, not only by vergers, but also by antiquaries (1) as the actual tomb of Lucius, the first Christian king, and the original founder of the cathedral, in the second century. The absurdity of this opinion must strike every person of common information. For if this be the resting place and the memorial of that celebrated personage, how comes it that the fact has escaped the notice of our original historians, and of Rudborne himself, who are in the greatest darkness or uncertainty concerning the latter part of his history? (2) Again, how can we suppose so obnoxious a monument, had it previously existed, would have been permitted to remain, when the agents of Dioclesian levelled the whole original edifice with the ground, and afterwards when Cerdic changed the second church, here erected, into a heathen temple? But it is easy to trace this error to its source. The fact is, bishop de Lucy, the last founder of this part of the cathedral, is here buried in the centre of his own work, as we gather from the most authentic records. (3) The similarity of whose name with that of Lucius has occasioned the story in question. (4)

Three enclosed chapels form the eastern extremity of the whole sacred fabric. The chantry, on the south side, is fitted up in a peculiar style of richness and elegance, the ornaments with which it is covered being carved in oak. These consist of vine leaves, grapes, tabernacles, armorial bearings,

(1) Lord Clarendon and Samuel Gale's *Antiquities of Winchester*, p. 34. The Rev. Thomas Warton's *Description of Winchester*, p. 83. The *Anonymous History of Winchester*, vol. 1, p. 59.

(2) See vol. 1, p. 43.

(3) "*Godefridus Lucy . . . extra capellam B. Virginis humatus est.*" *Epit. Hist. Wint. Angl. Sac.* vol. 1, p. 286.

(4) The following is the account of the examination of this tomb in July, 1797. "The tomb, said to be that of Lucius, the first Christian king, had evidently been opened before. There was in it a skull of common size, the thigh bones lying near it, and the remains of silk garments of a yellow colour, which might have been formerly either purple or red. Some parts had been embroidered with a narrow stripe of gold." Extract of a letter from H. H. esq.

and the motto *Laus tibi Christe*, (1) repeated an incredible number of times. The prelate who lies here buried, Thomas Langton, having previously to his decease, which happened by the plague in the year 1500, been elected to the see of Canterbury, we find the arms of that see in various parts, represented with those of Winchester. In the centre of the chapel is the altar tomb of the deceased, which was originally exceedingly elegant, (2) but which is now stripped of every metal or other ornament for which a price could be obtained. There is a profusion of rebuses on the groining of the ceiling, in conformity with the taste of the age. Amongst these we see the musical note called a *long* inserted in a *ton*, in allusion to the name Langton; (3) a *vine* growing out of a *ton* to denote his see, Winton; a hen sitting on a *ton*, signifying the prior of the cathedral who was his contemporary, Henton or Hunton; (4) and a *dragon* issuing out of a *ton*, the meaning of which we cannot unriddle.

The middle chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, hence called amongst antiquaries the Lady Chapel, was originally no longer than the other two. We distinctly see, where the architecture of bishop De Lucy, the most elegant that his age is acquainted with, ends; and where the work of prior Silkstede, which has lengthened this chapel by one half, begins. It appears that the additional part was begun by Silkstede's predecessor, Thomas Hunton, and that he only finished and ornamented it. For looking up to the groining round the two centre orbs, one representing the Almighty, the other the Blessed Virgin, we find the following characters and rebuses,—the letter *T*, the syllable *Hun*, the figure of a *ton*, for Thomas Hunton, and the figure 1 for *prior*. In like manner we see the letter *T*, the syllable *silk*, a *steed* or horse, and the figure 1, for *Thomas Silkstede, prior*. In other parts of the chapel and cathedral we find the letter *T* with a skein of *silk* twisted round it; to denote the same person; with the *vine* and the *ton*, which ornament

(1) *Praise be to thee, O Christ.*

(2) "Capellam construxit ab australi parte ecclesiæ suæ Wintoniensis, in cujus medio conditus jacet sub marmoreo tumulo elegantissimo." Godwin, De Præsul.

(3) Wood's *Athenæ*.

(4) Stephens's *Catalogue*.

often occurs. There are other proofs, from the arms of queen Elizabeth, daughter of Edward VI. and those of the Grey family, that the addition to this chapel was begun to be built whilst Hunton was prior, but that it was finished and ornamented by Silkstede. The latter fact is attested by an imperfect inscription under the portrait of this prior which is still visible, with the insignia of his office, over the piscina in this chapel, of which the following words are part:—

**Silkstede.... iussit quoque facta polita
Sumptibus ornari, Sancta Maria, suis. (1)**

The ornaments, of which mention is here made, consist in certain curious paintings, partly historical and partly allegorical, relating chiefly to miracles ascribed to the prayers of the holy patroness of this chapel, which almost cover the whole walls of the new erection. The subject of one of them, indeed, is drawn from the Holy Scripture, viz. the Annunciation, and those of a few others occur in creditable historians; as that of St. Gregory's procession in the time of the plague: in general, however, the stories here delineated are collected from unauthenticated legends. (2) Nevertheless, they had not any pernicious tendency which required them to be obliterated. (3) At present they are highly curious and valuable for the information which they convey concerning the customs of former times. We observe the different attempts that have been made to deface them, probably in the reign of Elizabeth, first by scraping the walls, secondly by daubing them over with a coarse paint, and lastly by white-washing them. This last operation has been the means of preserving them; for the white-wash having of late years, fallen off, we now view them in a more perfect state

(1) *Silkstede also caused these polished stones, O Mary, to be ornamented at his expence.*

(2) The Author has explained the meaning of as many of these paintings as are not quite defaced, in a work entitled *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting*, published by that able draughtsman and architect (Mr. John Carter) where plates of them occur.

(3) Venerable Bede informs us, in his history of Weremouth, that St. Bennet Biscop adorned the church of that monastery with pictures of different saints, and of the visions in the Revelations.

than we should have done, if they had been exposed to the air during the whole intervening period. In this chapel of her patroness, queen Mary chose to have her marriage ceremony with Philip of Spain performed, and the chair on which she sat on this occasion is still shewn there. (1) It appears that there was formerly a particular sextry or sacristy belonging to this chapel, on the north side of it, with a garden, (2) which long after the former was demolished continued to be called *Paradise*.

The remaining of the three above-mentioned chapels, from the figures of angels which still cover the whole vaulting of it, was probably dedicated to the Guardian Angels. It is not unlikely that this was also the chantry of bishop Orlton; (3) though there is no memorial of him existing here at present. In the place of it we see, on the north side, the sepulchre of a modern prelate, bishop Mews, with his mitre and crosier suspended over it; and, on the south side, the superb monument of Weston, duke of Portland, (4) with a noble and inimitable bronze figure of him at full length, and the busts in marble of certain persons of his family.

Turning our faces now to the west, we have before us the screen which separates the work of De Lucy from that of Fox. In the front of this, just before the Holy Hole, we find a large grave stone, being above twelve feet long and five feet broad, in which we can discern that the effigies of a bishop, abbot, or mitred prior, in brass, and a long inscription, with a profusion of ornaments, have been inserted, which have since been sacrilegiously stolen. This is celebrated, not only by the vulgar, but also by learned authors, (5) as the monument which covers the remains of the great patron

(1) Gale's Antiq.

(2) Rudborne, Hist. Maj. l. III, c. 7. speaks of the *Gardinum Sacristæ*, which, from different circumstances, we gather to have been in this part.

(3) Richardson, in his notes upon Godwin, says of Orlton, "Sepultus est in ecclesiâ Wintoniensi in capellâ propriâ." Now there is hardly any chapel, except this, unappropriated, and the stile of the ornaments still remaining, which stood over the altar, seem to bespeak his time.

(4) He was lord treasurer in the reign of Charles I. Echard and Rapin represent him as being a Catholic.

(5) Lord Clarendon and Gale's Antiquities, p. 30. Warton's Description, p. 83, who, of

saint of our cathedral and city, St. Swithun. (1) The improbability, however, of this opinion is great and obvious. This saint, it is well known, was buried, at his own request, in the church-yard, (2) in a spot which we shall hereafter point out; and when afterwards, at the distance of above a hundred years, the body was translated by St. Ethelwold into the cathedral, it was not deposited in a grave, but in a shrine or chest of silver, plated with gold and adorned with jewels, which king Edgar gave for this purpose. (3) The only method then of supporting the received opinion, is by supposing that, at the Reformation, some zealous person, after the shrine had been seized upon for the king's use, interred the remains of the saint under the pompous and costly monument which this appears originally to have been. Now, though we doubt not that many persons at that period were ready to incur such an expence, in order to testify their respect and devotion to this illustrious saint; yet we cannot believe that such a measure would have been permitted on the part of government; as it would have been a tacit censure of the conduct of the latter in seizing on the shrine. Such was our reasoning on this point previously to the researches made in the cathedral in 1797; which were primarily undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining the point whether St. Swithun's remains lay under this grave stone or not. We shall give below the very interesting account which the learned gentleman, to whom we have already professed our literary obligations more than once, was pleased to communicate to us of the discoveries that were made in this particular. (4) In the mean time we shall observe, that our

course is followed by the Anonymous Historian, p. 59. The profound Anthony Wood seems also to countenance this opinion. Athen. Oxon. The same is adopted by the learned Alban Butler, in his Life of St. Swithun, July 15.

(1) This name is frequently spelt by moderns *Swithin*, but by the ancients always *Swithun* or *Swithum*.

(2) Gul. Malm. De Pontif, l. II. Rudb. Capgrave.

(3) Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. III, c. 12. Gul. Malm.

(4) The following is an extract from this valuable letter :—

“ SIR,

Milsea Barracks, July 12, 1797.

“ Your absence at the time we had obtained leave to make some researches in the cathe-

conjecture, in opposition to the received opinion, is now brought to an absolute certainty. For first, the bones here found lay “ in an undisturbed

dral, was a matter of great regret, both to my father, Capt. Cartwright, and myself, and I will add to the vergers of the cathedral, who assisted us; and had we not been under orders to march to this place, we should certainly have delayed the investigation till your return. As it is, the best thing remaining to do, is to give you an account of our transactions, and as I write to a person so much better informed, both as to the history of the place and every local circumstance, I shall confine myself to a bare narration of the facts.

“ ST. SWITHUN’S TOMB.—Previous to our operations we ascertained, both by measurement and by sound in the crypt, that the large square of solid stone, towards the middle of the vault, is immediately under St. Swithin’s tomb. There is a square flint solid beyond it carried up in the same manner, but which appears to have been made merely to support the arch above, between the monuments of cardinal Beaufort and bishop Waynflete, as on removing the pavement above it in the church, we immediately came to that arch.

“ On the 5th of July, leave having been obtained, the slab, 12 feet by 5, supposed to cover St. Swithin’s tomb, was raised, under the direction of the master mason of the chapter, in the presence of several gentlemen, and of two of the vergers of the cathedral.

“ Under this stone there appeared an oblong tomb or opening, seven feet long and two feet five inches broad, formed of slabs of a fine white stone, (similar to that used in bishop Fox’s chapel, neatly polished, jointed with care and art, and as clean and dry as if it had been finished on that day. The rubbish, consisting of pulverised stone and some decayed mortar, with which it had probably been filled to the level of the underpart of the great slab, was rather sunk towards the centre, apparently on account of its having, (as we afterwards discovered) burst into the coffin itself. After removing two feet five inches of this rubbish, the flat lid of an oak coffin appeared. The wood was moist, and in a state of the utmost decay, soft, spongy, and light, and easily broken, but still retaining to the eye its fibres and texture. The lid has been fastened with common iron nails, much rust-eaten, and which came out at the touch. The form of the coffin, or rather chest, which contained the bones, was a parallelogram, about six feet and a half long, one foot ten inches broad, and not quite one foot deep. In some places, (as has been related) it was broken into by the weight of the rubbish, which in consequence was found mixed with the bones. There was no lead in the inside, nor any inscription. The bones lay in an undisturbed state; the jaw and every rib and joint were in their places, the hands were crossed a little below the short ribs, but no ring was found, nor were there any coins or chalice. The vertebræ of the back, and the smaller bones which lay next the under part of the coffin, were much decayed, but the thigh, leg, and arm bones were still solid. The thigh bones measured from the extreme points only $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which proves that whoever is here buried was a person of low stature. On the skull, which is also

state...every rib and joint in its proper place." Now this could not have happened, had the remains of the deceased been so often translated and moved, as certainly was the case with those of St. Swithun, during the space of six centuries. The second argument to this effect, which supercedes the necessity of producing any further proofs in support of our opinion, is, that in the grave before us was found an entire skull, whereas we have undeniable testimony, that the skull of St. Swithun was carried away by St. Elphege from Winchester to Canterbury, upon his being

small, there remained the impression of linen, or fine stuff, apparently white, but no hair. Many of the teeth were entire, but much worn; others, from the closure of the jaw bone, appeared to have been lost during life. A black serge, probably a monk's cowl, seems to have covered the whole body, and upon the decay of the flesh to have adhered to the bones; towards the feet it appeared in folds. The legs were covered with leather boots or gaiters, sewed on and neatly stitched; part of the thread was still to be seen, and the leather retained some consistency; it was very damp, I might almost say wet. The soles were of what would be called an elegant shape at present, pointed at the toe and very narrow under the middle of the foot, exactly the shape of what I have sent, which you will observe is so small that it scarcely appears the size of a man's foot. The under part is a good deal worn, of two thicknesses of leather, about the consistency of a slipper sole. There were remains of thongs near it, which may lead to suppose they were sandals. The boot part, which is very wide, and came above the knee, was not adherent to these soles. The lower part of the coffin, which was very damp, and like the rest, falling to pieces, adhered in some degree to the bottom of the stone grave, and had stained it; the rest was, as I have said, perfectly fresh and clean. The depth of this tomb or stone grave was 3 feet 4 inches. Whether these circumstances support the tradition that this was the body of St. Swithun, you will be able to judge better than myself; one thing appears to me certain, that the coffin was removed from some other place to this spot, and had existed long before bishop Fox's time; it was certainly not by the dry rot that it had decayed in the situation it was placed, totally void of moisture; it could not have decayed by any other manner since his time. One must therefore conclude that these remains were at least reputed to be those of some person of great note, that the coffin or chest must have then been in a very perishable state, and have required great care in the removal, more indeed than succeeded, as the weight even of the dusty materials that covered it had broken into it.

"To conclude, the remains were immediately after carefully collected, and placed in a box at the bottom of the vault, with a short narrative of the proceedings of the day inclosed: in a glass bottle sealed up, the rubbish thrown in, and the slab replaced in its former state.

"HENRY HOWARD."

promoted to that see, where it was deposited under Christ's altar. (1) If we must hazard a conjecture concerning the deceased whose remains are contained in the present sepulchre, we should say, that in all probability it is good prior Silkstede. The black serge, resembling a cowl, and the funeral boots, found with the bones, seem to bespeak a person of the monastic profession; the mitre and the crosier on the grave-stone indicate a prior of the cathedral; the white, well jointed, and polished stones in the sepulchre, resembling those in Fox's chantry, seem to point out the time when it was made; and its honourable situation, just before the Holy Hole, seems better to become a superior of Silkstede's merit as a benefactor to the cathedral, than any any other prior who lived near his time. (2)

Upon the skreen before us we see a range of niches, with canopies and pedestals, which formerly contained statues of Christ and his Blessed Mother, and of the illustrious personages under-mentioned; as appears by their respective inscriptions, in the following order:—

Kyngillus rex. S. Birinus episcopus. Kynwaldus rex. Egbertus rex.

(1) "In quo altari B. Elphegus caput Sancti Swithuni, quod ipse, a pontificatu Wintoniensi in archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem translatus, secum tulerat, cum multis aliorum sanctorum reliquiis solemniter reposuerat." Gervas. Dorob. De Combust. & Repar. Dorob. Ecc. apud Twysd. p. 1291.—N. B. The architect employed in repairing the cathedral of Canterbury, at the time which our author mentions, was a native of Sens, who returning home seems to have carried a fragment of the saint's skull; in consequence of which, St. Swithun's head was believed to be at Sens, and his festival was there kept with great solemnity. It has been by such means, and not by those intimated by the historian of Worcester, that the heads and bodies of saints appear to be multiplied.

(2) This opinion indeed seems to militate against the argument of our ingenious correspondent, drawn from the dampness found in the coffin, which he supposes must have been acquired in a different situation. But it will be remembered, that the leg bones of Edward IV. when his tomb was opened a few years back at Windsor, were found half immersed in a colourless insipid lymph, which could not be accounted for in any other way than by supposing that it was the matter into which the human muscles were dissolved. Our ancestors were so well acquainted with this property of the human corpse, that they always made two small circular holes in their stone coffins for the discharge of this humour. See *Vetusta Monumenta Soc. Antiq.*

Adulfus rex filius ejus. Egbertus rex. Aluredus rex. Edwardus rex senior. athelstanus rex.

Dominus Iesus. Sancta Maria.

Eðredus rex. Edgar rex. Emma regina. Alwynus episcopus. Ethelredus rex. S. Edwardus rex filius ejus. Canutus rex. Hardicanutus rex filius ejus.

From this catalogue of names it is plain, that former writers have been under an error, in supposing that the corresponding statues were those of different Saxon kings buried in the vault below, (1) or near this place; (2) since six of the kings here named were not interred at all in this cathedral, but in other places. The real cause of these illustrious personages being honoured with statues in our church was, that they were its chief benefactors. This circumstance, however, could not save them from the destroying mallet of modern iconoclasts, to whose fanaticism every resemblance of the human form in a place of worship appeared to be an object of idolatry. (3) In the lower part of this wall is seen a small arched way, now blocked up with masonry. This led down a stone staircase into the western crypt, immediately under the high altar and sanctuary; which

(1) Gale's Antiq. p. 32.

(2) Warton's Description, p. 82. Anonymous History, vol. 1, p. 56.—The preposterous order in which both these writers set down the above names, contrary to historical truth, (as where Alfred is made the son of Egbert, and Athelstan the son of Alfred, &c.) proves that they did not consult the original, but copied them from Gale, whose arrangement they mistook. The other errors into which they fall, on the same occasion, are so numerous and so gross as almost to bid defiance to criticism.

(3) The late historian of Worcester informs us, that Egwin, third bishop of that see, first introduced the use of pious images into England. Upon inquiry, however, he will find that the apostle of England, St. Gregory the Great, was an avowed patron of images, as Bale and Peter Martyr confess; and that the use both of pictures and images was introduced, with Christianity itself, by St. Augustine, who preached the gospel to king Ethelbert, "with a cross carried before him for an ensign, and a picture of our Saviour painted on a board." Bede's Ecc. Hist. b. 1, c. xxv.—King Ina is mentioned, in the records of Glassenbury abbey, having bestowed upon it silver images of the Blessed Virgin and the twelve Apostles. Will. Malin. De Antiq. Glassenbury.

being the destined place for the reception of relics and the interment of persons of eminent sanctity, was hence called *The Holy Hole*, by which name it constantly occurs in the original history of this city. (1) It is another egregious mistake in modern writers to speak of this as the royal vault, in which those personages were originally buried, whose bones are now deposited in the chests round the choir. (2) The fact is, not one of the latter was ever deposited in the Holy Hole; (3) but only such remains of persons eminent for their sanctity, as were not contained in the sacred shrines. As a sufficient proof of this the following inscription in large characters over the said vault:—

Corpora sanctorum sunt hic in pace sepulta.—Ex meritis quorum fulgeri miracula multa. (4)

Turning round the north corner of the screen, we enter into the north east aisle of Fox's church, whose devices, with those of cardinal Beaufort, frequently occur in it. Here we view the outside of Gardiner's chantry, which exhibits the same confusion of Gothic and Grecian architecture which we have reprobated in describing the inside of it. His figure, like that of Fox on the opposite side, is exhibited as a skeleton, and bears evident proofs of the indignity and violence with which it has been treated. Proceeding westward, under the mortuary chest of Kinegils, we discover in the partition wall the monument of king Hardicanute, the last Danish

(1) *Historia Major Wintoniensis*, Thomæ Rudberne.

(2) Warton's *Description*, p. 79. Anonymous *History*, vol. 1, p. 48. *Vetusta Monument.* vol. 11.

(3) For example, we are assured that Canute was originally buried before the high altar; Rufus in the choir; Edmund, the son of Alfred, where Gardiner's chapel now is; Stigand at the entrance of the choir, &c.

(4) *The bodies of different saints are here buried in peace, through whose merits many miracles shine forth.*—N. B. In the year 1789 an attempt was made, in the presence of the author, to gain an entrance into the Holy Hole, but upon removing the masonry which closes the present entry, the crown of the arch above was found to have been purposely destroyed, and the whole passage and vault to be so entirely choaked with rubbish, that there was a necessity of abandoning the undertaking.

monarch, whose body was brought hither from Lambeth for interment. We observe upon it the figure of a ship, with the following inscription:—

Hui jacet hic regni sceptrum tulit Hardicanutus,

Emmae Enutonis gnatus et ipse fuit. Ob. A.D. M.XLI. (1)

Near to this we find a similar monument for the heart of Ethelmar, bishop of Winchester, and half brother of Henry III. who, having been long kept out of his diocese, seems to have expressed his desire of returning to it, by ordering his heart to be conveyed to this cathedral from Paris, where he died. The following is the inscription on the monument:—

Corpus Ethelmari, cuius cor nunc tenet istud

Saxnm, Parisiis morte datur tumulo. Ob. Anno 1261. (2)

Leaving now the works of Fox, and descending down a flight of steps, we find ourselves again amongst the ponderous and lofty architecture of the Norman prelate, Walkelin, in the northern transept. Under the organ stairs is a mutilated bust, in stone, of a bishop, or conventual prior, with his heart in his hands; which, from the form of the arch over it, is seen to be much more ancient than the tomb of Waynflete. According to one account, this represents Ethelmar; (3) according to another, which is generally followed, (4) it is meant for a prior by name Hugh Le Brun. (5) The former account, however, is much more probable, because the turn of the arch agrees with the time of Ethelmar, but not with that of either of the cathedral priors who bore the name of Hugh. Secondly, this bust is

(1) *He who lies here, by name Hardicanute, bore the sceptre of the kingdom, being the son of Emma and of Canute.—He died A. D. 1041.*

(2) *The body of Ethelmar, whose heart is enclosed in this stone, lies buried at Paris. He died in the year 1261.*

(3) In the former part of lord Clarendon and Gale's History, p. 24, it is said, by tradition to be that of Ethelmar.

(4) Warton's Description, p. 84. The Anonymous History.

(5) In the second part of the said work, p. 32, it is supposed to be prior Hugh Le Brun's. N. B. No such name as Le Brun can be traced in authentic records, as belonging to any of the conventual priors.

not fixed, but has been removed from another place; probably from that where the heart rests, and where it stood until Fox rebuilt the choir. Lastly, the attitude of offering up the heart seems to correspond with the dying wish of Ethelmar, but has no relation, that we can discover, with the history of any of the priors. Under the organ stairs, lower down the steps, is a dark chapel, that has hitherto been overlooked, though it is full of paintings, which from the rudeness of their style, are known to be proportionably ancient. Towards the east, where the altar stood, is represented the taking down of our Lord's body from the cross, and the laying it in the sepulchre; on the south side is painted his descent into Limbus, and his appearance to Mary Magdalen in the garden; from whose lips the word *Rabboni* (1) is seen to proceed. It is not necessary to decypher the other subjects, but from those already mentioned, it is evident that this was the chapel of the Sepulchre, as it was called, to which there used to be a great resort in holy week. In front of this is seen a stone coffin, raised a little out of the ground, without any inscription or ornament, except a processional cross upon the top of it. This seems to denote the grave of one of the cathedral priors.

There appears to have been different altars, (2) probably as many as five,

(1) St. John, c. xx. v. 16.

(2) The scite of about twenty altars may still be ascertained in this cathedral, but that was probably far from being the whole number of them. A late writer on ecclesiastical antiquities represents the multiplication of altars in our cathedrals as a late innovation. See Green's History of Worcester, vol. i, p. 89. If, however, he will look into Alcuin's Poetical Description of York Cathedral, as it existed in the eighth century, (for Alcuin wrote in the reign of Charlemagne) he will find that it was, at that early age, furnished with no fewer than thirty altars. *Triginta tenet variis ornatibus aras.* Gale's x Scriptores versu, 1514. The same author describes the altars as being built for the sake of depositing relics under them. Upon inquiry, however, he will find directly the reverse of this to have been the case. Finally, he tells us, p. 57, that upon the introduction of the doctrine of transubstantiation, it became necessary to place the high altar in the centre of a cross aisle. In this supposition it was incumbent on the writer to prove, by authentic documents, that at some determinate period, the situation of the high altars in our great churches underwent the change in question. This would have tended to fix the hitherto undiscovered period, when

in the open part of the transept before us. The whole of it has been painted with the figures of different saints and other ornaments, some of which still remain. In particular, against the west wall, at the extremity of the transept, are still seen the traces of a colossal figure of a man supporting a child. This has been mistaken by former writers, for a representation of the battle between Colbrand and Guy earl of Warwick, (1) with which it does not bear the slightest resemblance. It is evidently meant for the allegorical figure of St. Christopher carrying Christ, (2) which was exceedingly common in ancient times. Over this subject is clearly discernible that of the Adoration of the Magi. The west aisle of the transept, consisting of two chapels, in one of which there is a bold specimen of the horseshoe arch, is now shut up from the body of the church, in order to form work-shops for repairing the fabric.

Having quitted the transept, and entered into the great north aisle, we see on our left hand, adjoining to the wall of the choir, the mutilated figure of an ancient crusader, armed cap-à-pié in a hawberk, with his sword and shield; the latter of which bears quarterly two bulls passant, gorged with collars and bells, and three garbs, for the princely family of De Foix; of which was Captal De La Buch, knight of the garter of the first creation by Edward III. On an adjoining slab are the arms of the royal families to which he appears to have been related, England, France, Castile, Leon, &c. The deceased himself was earl of a small place adjoining to Winchester, called Winall, as we learn from the following epitaph, which is said formerly to have been on the monument: (3)

the faith of the whole church was altered in this capital article. The fact is, the high altars retained the same situation in our cathedrals in all ages, namely, the east end of the great nave, not the centre of the cross aisles.

(1) Warton's Description, p. 79. Anonymous History, vol. 1, p. 47, 48.

(2) See *An Enquiry into the History and Character of St. George, Patron of England, of the Society of Antiquaries, &c.* by the Author; in which the several figures and emblems ascribed to different saints are explained and accounted for.

(3) Gale's Antiquities, p. 32.

Hic jacet Willielmus Comes de iusula Vana alias Wineall. (1)

We now pass behind the pillar, against which bishop Hoadley's monument rests; adjoining to which, at the bottom of the steps, is the sepulchre of the stanch old prelate Morley, (2) with an interesting epitaph, composed by himself, which however boasts of nothing but his attachment to the cause of royalty. It is enclosed with iron rails, and over it hangs, probably by his own appointment, his mitre and crosier. It is plain from the two monuments now before us, that death destroys all distinctions, for never were there men more opposite in their religious and political principles than were the two bishops of this see, who here lie close together. Upon a pillar adjoining to Morley's monument is a small plate of brass, with an engraved epitaph to the memory of captain Boles. As no hero was perhaps ever more deserving of an honourable commendation to posterity than the deceased; (3) so never perhaps was there an epitaph more devoid of grammar and orthography than that which is here erected to his memory. (4) We could not have believed that the author of it was a clergyman of the same honourable family, at the end of the last century, if he himself had had not told us so in the epitaph. Continuing our walk down the north aisle, we find, lying close to the wall, an ancient mutilated figure of black marble, with a mitre on the head. It is difficult to determine whether this represents a bishop or a cathedral prior; if the former, and if it has always continued in the same place, we have no difficulty in pronouncing that it is the monument and covers the ashes of the great and powerful prelate, once the guardian of the king and kingdom, Peter De Rupibus; as it is particularly recorded of him that, in his life time, he chose an humble place in his cathedral, to be buried in. (5)

(1) *Here lies William, earl of the island Vana, otherwise Wineall.* The parish of Winall lies upon the river, and might formerly have been insulated.

(2) See vol. I, p. 425.

(3) *Ibid*, p. 405.

(4) It begins "A memoriall for this renowned martialist Richard Boles, of the right worshipful family of the Boleses in Linkhorne sheire collonell of a ridgement of foot of 1300, &c.

(5) "Sepultus est autem in ecclesiâ suâ Wintoniensi, ubi etiam dum viveret humilem elegit sepulturam." Mat. Paris.

We now come to what may be called the *Crux Antiquariorum*, or the puzzle of antiquaries; the ancient cathedral font. This stands within the middle arch of Wykeham's part of the church, on the north side, and consists of a square block of dark marble, supported by pillars of the same material. It is covered on the top and the four sides with rude carvings, which bespeak its antiquity. There is no great difficulty in explaining those on the top, and two of the sides, namely, the north and east sides. The most distinguished ornaments of the top are doves, emblematic of the Holy Ghost, (1) which appear breathing into phials surmounted with crosses, supposed to contain the two kinds of sacred chrism, made use of in baptism. The rest of the ornaments of this part consist of Saxon zig zag, pellets, &c. On the sides the dove is still repeated in various attitudes, together with a salamander, emblematic of fire; in allusion to that passage of St. Mat. c. iii. v. 2, "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." But now to speak of the sculptures on the south and west sides of the font: these are universally allowed to represent the history of some holy bishop, (2) but no antiquary has hitherto succeeded in discovering a personage of this description, to whose known transactions these figures are applicable. In the year 1786, the Society of Antiquaries having caused two splendid plates of this font to be engraved, their learned director accompanied the delivery of them to the members, with a dissertation on these carvings, consisting of seven folio pages; in which he supposes them to represent the history of St. Birinus, the apostle of the West Saxons. Conformably with this system, he explains the compartment, in which the ship appears, to relate to the saint's voyage into England, on which occasion he makes him save some of the mariners, who were sleeping on shore, from the imminent danger of being drowned by the swell of the sea. (3) But we are to observe that no such incident in the

(1) These figures frequently occur on the monuments of the ancient Christians, found in the catacombs at Rome.

(2) Lord Clarendon and Gale's *Antiquities*, p. 23. *Monasticon*, vol. II, p. 219. Warton's *Description*, p. 79. Anonymous *History*, vol. I, p. 48. *Vetusta Monumenta*, in the explanation of this font, vol. II.

(3) P. 2.

life of Birinus is hinted to us by any one of our ancient historians. The south side he supposes to represent the death of king Kinegils, who being unable himself to execute his pious design of building a cathedral at Winchester, worthy of his capital city and of his holy instructor; obliged his son Kenewalch to take a solemn oath, in the presence of the saint and of his principal officers, that he would complete the undertaking. (1) According to this explanation the figure on his knees is the dying king, who is delivering a mass of earth or stone to his son, being part of the materials which he had collected for this pious work. We apprehend that few persons who look upon the original, or the copy of it, either in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, or in our *Miscellaneous Plate*, will be struck with the probability of this interpretation. With respect to the execution scene, the learned writer seems to admit the impossibility of adapting it to any known incident in the life of St. Birinus, (2)

In rejecting the above explanation of the hieroglyphics, we abandon a system, which we ourselves heretofore supported; as will appear by referring to the dissertation alluded to, (3) in which the learned author honoured our conjectures with insertion. The mistake, on all sides, seems to have originated in a desire of carrying up this monument to the highest antiquity possible, and of forcing it to apply to our national history. On these two heads a few preliminary remarks seem necessary. The learned author supposes that this font, as well as another greatly resembling it at Lincoln, has relation to the age of St. Birinus; which means that they were executed in the seventh century. (3) But this is evidently dating it too far backward: for certainly baptism by immersion, which was performed by means of a bath, made for this purpose, in a building distinct from the church itself, called a baptistery, was the practice in this kingdom, as well as in other parts of the church, at that period, and for above two centuries later. (4) Now the font before us is not calculated for this mode of baptizing, but rather for that of infusion or aspersion. It is also agreed that mitres did not

(1) P. 2.

(2) P. 4.

(3) P. 4.

(4) P. 1.

(5) P. 5.

make part of the episcopal ornaments before the tenth century, which, nevertheless, we see on the head of the bishop here represented in three different compartments. In the second place, it is a source of error, as we have remarked on the picture of St. Christopher, mentioned above, to refer all ancient monuments of this kind to the history of our own country. The saint whose transactions we suppose to be represented on the sides of this font, though a foreigner, was better known and more celebrated in England than St. Birinus himself. We speak of St. Nicholas, bishop of Myra, in Lycia, who flourished in the fourth century, and was celebrated as the patron saint of children. His name, which was famous throughout Christendom from the time of his decease, became much more celebrated in the west, upon his relics being carried off from the city of Myra, then subject to the Mahometans, to that of Bari in Italy, in an expedition fitted out for that express purpose. This happened about the time of the Norman Conquest, a period with which the architecture of the church, represented on the south side, agrees better than with any other period either more ancient or later. The history of this saint is to found abridged in *The Portiforium seu Breviarium, in usum Sarum*, and likewise in *The Golden Legend*, but the most ample and genuine account of him occurs in Surius, translated from the Greek of Simeon Metaphrastes.

The first splendid action in the life of this saint, which gave occasion to his being named the patron of children, was his saving the virtue of three virgins, which their father, a man of noble birth, but reduced to poverty, was tempted to make a traffic of. (1) St. Nicholas, to whom his parents had transmitted an ample fortune, hearing of this intention and of the occasion of it, tied up a considerable sum of gold in a cloth, (2) and to avoid the ostentation of his charity, threw it by night into the bed-chamber of this unhappy father; who awaking, and finding a sufficient sum to portion one of his daughters, immediately married her to a person of equal birth. The same circumstance happening the following night, the father took care to

(1) Surius, Vit. S. Nic. cap. vi. Brev. Sar. lect. 3, 4.

(2) "Auri haud mediocre pondus sacculo bellè insutum." Ibid.

be upon the watch the third night, for his unknown benefactor; when discovering St. Nicholas to be the person, he fell at his feet, calling him the saviour of his own and his daughter's souls.—Let us now inspect the south side of the font, we shall see this history represented, with only those few deviations which are necessary for artists, in order to give a comprehensive view of a complex transaction. A bishop, with his mitre, crosier, &c. is seen in front of a Saxon church, representing the cathedral of Myra. Before him kneels an old man, with a long beard; who kissing his hand, at the same time receives from it into his own right hand a round mass curiously tied up at the ends, which, with his left hand, he gives to a female figure, as appears by the breasts, long hair, and ornaments. Receiving thus her marriage portion with her left hand, she holds out her right towards a male figure with short hair on his head and chin; who proves himself to be a man of noble birth and a fit husband for her, by the hawk which he carries on his fist. In the intermediate space, or back ground, another of these devoted daughters, with long hair, and the same kind of fillet as her sister wears, is actually celebrating her marriage with a man richly dressed. They join their right hands, whilst her left is placed upon her breast, and his left holds a purse containing her portion. There is not sufficient space on the west side to exhibit the nuptials of the third daughter.

The next remarkable incident in the life of St. Nicholas, is his voyage to the Holy Land. (1) Having embarked for this purpose in a vessel bound to Egypt, he foretold a dreadful storm, which soon overtook it, and seemed on the point of overwhelming it. The sailors, who, confident in their nautical foresight and skill, had derided the saint's prediction, now, with abundance of tears, besought him to pray for their delivery; which, when he had done, the storm was appeased, and he arrived in safety at Alexandria.

Let us now examine the west side of the font; which, consisting of four

(1) Surius, *ibid*, c. vii.—In the Golden Legend, c. ii, and in the Sarum Breviary, a voyage next occurs, different, indeed, in some circumstances; in which, however, a storm is calmed by the saint. But the account of Metaphrastes, extant in Surius, is more ancient and best agrees with the carvings.

different compartments, is unavoidably crowded. The first of these exhibits a ship, with ropes, a mast, and rudder, but without any sail, the sure sign of its being in a storm. The size of the vessel admits but of three figures. Of these, one is labouring at the helm; a second, with his hand up to his eyes, appears to be weeping; and a third, of superior dignity, with his face averted, and his hands stretched over the waves, seems to be appeasing them by his prayers.

St. Nicholas being landed at Alexandria, the fame of this miracle, and of another which he had wrought at sea, in restoring to life a mariner, who had been killed by a fall from the mast, occasioned a great number of persons labouring under different disorders and calamities to be brought to him; all of whom he cured and relieved, according to their several wants. (1) Hence the next compartment to that which we have explained, exhibits two persons with sorrowful countenances, and in a recumbent posture, denoting their being ill, before a bishop; who, holding one of them by the hand, seems to be raising him up to health: whilst the third, with uplifted hand and a joyful countenance, is expressing his astonishment and gratitude for the miraculous cure which he has just experienced. The lowest figure of all, with a cup in his hand, belongs to a different subject, as we shall afterwards shew.

The most celebrated act, however, in the life of St. Nicholas, next to that of his saving the chastity of the three virgins, was his preserving the lives of three young men of his cathedral city of Myra; (2) whom the corrupt and cruel prefect Eustachius had condemned to death, whilst the saint was absent in Phrygia, appeasing a popular commotion, which threatened the worst of consequences. Being informed, by a speedy messenger, of what was transacting in his own city, he flies back to it; where he finds the condemned youths at the place of execution, with their necks

(1) "*Magnus ad eum factus est ægrotantium concursus, magnus calamitosorum opem petentium. Sed quis, donorum largitor Deus! æger non sanus abscessit? Quis mœrens non lætus? Sed tua hæc laus est, Domine, quia sine te laus ista non esset.*" Ibid.

(2) Surius, cap. xv. Legend. Aur. c. iiii.

bared, and a headsman with his uplifted axe on the point of inflicting the fatal stroke. (1) Instantly rushing forward, he snatches the instrument of death from the hands of the executioner, and being aided by the authority of certain imperial officers of rank superior to Eustachius, whom he had engaged to accompany him for this very purpose out of Phrygia, he orders the young men to be released, and leads them back into the city in triumph. In allusion to this history, we see, in the third compartment on this side of the font, three persons in a recumbent posture, ready to be beheaded; their bodies being covered with a kind of mantle, to spare the labour of the statuary. The executioner stands by them with his uplifted axe, over whose shoulder another person appears to be giving orders for the tragedy. The holy bishop's figure is the next; though to prevent the necessity of repeating it in so contracted a space, he is represented as attending to another figure, which belongs to a different subject.

The last story here represented, relates to a miracle ascribed to St. Nicholas after his death. It does not occur in Metaphrastes, who confines his narration to the time of the saint's life; but is reported at length by Jacobus De Voragine, (2) and is alluded to in the Sarum Breviary. (3) A certain nobleman being destitute of children, made a vow to St. Nicholas, that if through his prayers he should be blessed with a son, he would conduct him when of a proper age to the saint's church at Myra, and there offer up a golden cup, as a memorial of the heavenly favour. His vow being heard, he ordered a rich cup to be made for his intended offering; but when it was brought to him, he was so much pleased with the workmanship of it, that he resolved to keep it for his domestic use, and caused another like it to be made, by way of fulfilling his obligation. Being on his voyage to Myra, with his son, and both the cups,

(1) "*Jam carnifex securim crexerat, et furenti similis, truculentos oculos in miseris cervicibus defixerat. At divinus noster. . . quid agis sceleste! Securim contine, simulque accedens securim è manibus extortam abjicit; tribus damnatis lumina et manus reddit, bono animo esse jubet, &c.*" Ibid.

(2) Legend. Aur. cap. ult.

(3) In Respons. lect. ix.

he ordered him to reach a little water, for some purpose or other, in that which was first made. The youth, in attempting to perform this, fell overboard with the vessel in his hand, and sunk to the bottom of the sea. The father now reflected with sorrow on his irreligious conduct, in preferring the gratification of his fancy to the exact performance of his religious vow. Nevertheless, he pursued his voyage to Lycia, and placed the second-made cup upon the altar of the saint; which as often as he performed, the cup was always thrown off to a distance. At length, however, whilst the nobleman was offering up his prayers, and the spectators were meditating on the prodigy which they had seen; behold the lost child suddenly enters into the church, and relates, that when he fell into the sea, a venerable bishop had appeared to him; who not only brought him safe to the shore, but likewise conducted him to the city of Myra.(1) By way of representing this story, we see a child, as appears by his countenance, lying in the water under the rudder of the ship, in one of the former compartments, with a cup in his right hand, finely wrought and studded with jewels. It was a contrivance of the statuary, to place the drowning child, where the sea had been before represented; in order to find room for exhibiting the completion of the miracle. Accordingly, in the present compartment, we see the same child, as appears by the dress and countenance, holding the same studded cup in his right hand, and conducted by St. Nicholas, who has hold of his left.

The only remaining object that claims our attention, in the north aisle, previously to our quitting the cathedral, is the Tribune; which closes the upper part of it at the western extremity, being of the same workmanship with the rest of Wykeham's fabric; and, of course, part of his original plan. This is at present made use of as an Ecclesiastical Court; but seems to have been erected in order to contain the extraordinary minstrels, who performed on grand occasions; when some prelate, legate, or king, was received at the cathedral in solemn state, by a procession of the whole convent. At such times the cross-bearers, acolyths, and thurifers, led the

(1) "Vas in mari mersum patri redditur cum filio." Brev. Sarum. ut supra.

way; and the bishop, prior, and other dignified clergy, in their proper insignia, and the richest vestments, closed the ranks. In the mean time, the church was hung from one end to the other with gorgeous tapestry, representing religious subjects; the large hooks for supporting which still remain fixed to the inside of the great columns: the altars dazzled the beholders with a profusion of gold, silver, and precious stones; the lustre of which was heightened by the blaze of a thousand wax lights; whilst the well tuned voices of a numerous choir, in chosen psalms and anthems, gave life and meaning to the various minstrelsy that was performed in this tribune. All this, we readily grant, is not devotion. But will any one deny, that such exterior means are a help to excite our languid piety; or pretend that they are less beneficial, in the present dispensation, than when they were appointed by the Deity himself in the first revelation of his will to mankind? (1) Will any one assert that it was the spirit of piety, which caused Henry VIII. and the governors of Edward VI. to strip the church of her exterior magnificence? Our present cathedrals are but the remnant, both in their appearance and their service, of what they were several ages backward: still, however, the most elevated and glowing geniuses of modern times, such as a Milton and a Gray, have confessed their power in producing the most sublime and affecting sentiments; as the former testifies in the following strain:

*O let my due feet never fail
To walk the studious cloisters pale,
And love the high embowed roof
With antique pillars massy proof.
And storied windows, richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light.
There let the pealing organ blow
To the full voic'd choir below,
In service high and anthems clear,
As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
Dissolve me into extacies,
And bring all Heaven before mine eyes.*

IL PENSEROSO.

(1) See Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Kings, &c.

CHAPTER III.

Occasion of the Modern Monuments being unnoticed in the first Survey of the Cathedral.—Monument of the Bishop of Gloucester's Father.—of the two Stanley's—Description of the splendid Monument of the Bishop of Winchester's Lady.—Of Dean Cheyney's Mural Monument.—Grave-Stones of Bishop and Dean Trimmel, and the Relatives of Dr. Sturges.—Mural Monuments of John Penton, Esq. Dr. Harris, &c.—The beautiful Statue of Bishop Willis described.—Tablets of Dean Naylor, Dr. Pyle, the Earl of Banbury, and Dr. Balguy.—Funeral Stone of Bishop Thomas.—Dr. Warton's Monument described.—Those of Sir Isaac Townsend, Dr. Nicholls, the Grand-daughter of Lord Chandos, and Dr. Turner.—Injuries done to the Architecture of De Lucy.—Various Grave-Stones in the East Part of the Church.—Monuments in the North Aisle of the Rivers Family, the Morley Family, Dr. Comb, Dr. Woodroff, and Sir Villiers Chernock.—Striking Defect in the latter.—Elegant Monument of Mrs. Montague and her Husband.—Those of Mrs. Littlehales, the Clerk Family, Mrs. Pool, and Mr. Hurst.—Common Defect of modern Monuments in ancient Cathedrals.—General Idea of the Architecture of an ancient Cathedral.—Bad Taste of modern Sculptors.

IF the musing antiquary has partaken of our feelings, in poring upon the collective memorials of a thousand years, contained in our primeval cathedral, he will not be unwilling to accompany us in a second visit to it. In this he will find leisure to contemplate various specimens of modern art, and many memorials of distinguished personages in latter times, which were overlooked or but slightly noticed in our former Survey of the sacred

edifice. Nevertheless, if justice was not then done to them, it was not from forgetfulness, or contempt of their merit, but solely from the enthusiasm incident to our favourite study, (1) and from the number and nature of the antiquarian subjects which then forced themselves upon our attention. We shall follow the same route in this our second perambulation of the church, which we pursued in the first.

At the bottom of the main south aisle, near the great western door, and adjoining to prebendary Warner's tomb-stone, is a black marble slab, to commemorate the father of the present learned bishop of Gloucester, and warden of the College; whose remains are there interred with the following inscription, of which the last line is taken from Horace:

M. S.

Jacobi Huntingford,

Qui, suis ah! minium desiderandus, obiit die ultimo Sept. An. Domini
1772, Ætatis 48.

Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit. (2)

At a small distance from the above-mentioned, are the monuments of two doctors of physic, father and son, each of whom bore the name of

(1) To shew how congenial to the feelings of mankind, or at least of the more refined part of it, is that intellectual delight which results from viewing the memorials of illustrious men of ancient times, we beg leave to quote the two following passages from the immortal Tully: "Naturâ ne nobis hoc datum dicam, an errore quodam, ut cum ea loca videamus, in quibus memoriâ dignos viros acceperimus multum esse versatos, magis moveamur, quam si quando eorum ipsorum aut facta audiamus, aut scriptum aliquod legamus." Cicero de Fin. 5.—"Me quidem ipsæ illæ nostræ Athenæ, non tam operibus magnificis et exquisitis, quam Antiquorum delectant, quam recordatione summorum virorum, ubi quisque habitare, ubi sedere, ubi disputare sit solitus; studioseque eorum etiam sepulchra contemplor." Cicero de Leg. II. 2.

(2) Sacred to the memory of
JAMES HUNTINGFORD,

Who, alas! to the inexpressible loss of those who knew him, departed this life Sept. 30, in the year of our Lord 1772, of his age 48.

Viewing this mournful stone with streaming eyes,
The virtuous shall exclaim: ah! here he lies.

Nicholas Stanley. The former died in 1687, and is praised at great length, for his integrity and professional skill. Of the latter, only the age and funeral date, viz. 1710, are recorded. Instead of posthumous praises, the following moral exhortation is addressed to the reader:—*Abi, Lector; hoc breve mihi sufficit epitaphium; et placet, si legas nec tui jam sis immemor sepulchri.*(1)

Against the wall that protects the tomb-stone of Mr. Huntingford, on the south side, the present bishop of Winchester has lately erected a beautiful and costly monument, the work of Flaxman, to the memory of his deceased lady, whose body, as we shall have occasion to remark, is buried in the nave of the church, considerably higher up towards the east. It consists chiefly of two large allegorical figures; one of which, a young and elegant female, denoting Conjugal Affection, or Domestic Piety, (2) is seen tenderly embracing and weeping over a funeral urn. The other, a grave matron, which, by her attribute of the Calvary cross, is known to be Faith, with one hand grasps that of Piety, and with the other points up to heaven, as the object of comfort and hope in distress. It were to be wished, however, that this figure of Faith had more of her characteristic energy and sublimity in her countenance and her attitude, than are here expressed. On the pyramid, in the back ground, is inscribed that apposite text of St. Paul's, "*The just shall live by faith;*" and on the tablet, underneath the figures, is inscribed an epitaph highly descriptive of the benevolence, as well as the grief of the Right Rev. mourner. It is as follows:—

THE JUST SHALL LIVE BY FAITH.

To the Memory of

HENRIETTA MARIA NORTH,

Second Daughter of JOHN BANNISTER, Esq. and ELIZABETH, his Wife, married to

(1) Go, reader; this short epitaph is sufficient for me; if in quitting my grave, you think of your own.

(2) It must represent Human, not Religious Piety, as the latter is a virtue of a more sublime nature than Faith itself, being a branch of that Charity, or the Love of God, which the Apostle describes as perfect and immortal. 1 Cor. xiii.

To the Honourable and Right Rev. BROWNLOW NORTH, Bishop of Winchester,
Who, in the 46th year of her age, and on the 16th day of November, 1796,

Virtuous, amiable, and accomplished,

Dignified by every moral,

Graced by every social Excellence,

Firm in reliance upon her GOD,

Stedfast in the Faith of her Redeemer CHRIST,

Terminated her exemplary and valuable Life.

This Testimony of his perfect Admiration, undiminished Gratitude, and never
ceasing Regret,

Is placed by her affectionate and ever mindful Widower.

We have already noticed (1) the beauty of dean Cheyney's mural monument, who died in 1760, erected against the south wall, within the fourth arch from the west end. It is composed of the finest Brocadillo, jasper, and statuary marbles, but designed and executed with a taste and skill that greatly surpass the value of the materials. (2) From the summit of a quadrangular urn, so fine as to be almost transparent, a phoenix, surrounded with flames, is seen to mount up, the emblem of immortality. On one side of it Wisdom is seated, on the other side Hope; each with her proper emblems. On an oval, in the centre of the urn, Religion is beheld opening a sarcophagus, from which the deceased, with his eyes fixed upon her, appears to be rising, whilst an angel from the clouds is sounding the last trumpet. The whole tablet, which forms a circle of a considerable diameter, is enclosed within a wreath formed of palm branches, the emblem of victory, bound together.

On the opposite side of the aisle, surrounded with an iron pallisade, is the marble slab, which covers the remains of bishop Trinnel, who died in 1723, with a copious inscription, containing an account of his virtues and his honours. The epitaph on his brother dean Trimnel, (3) who rests by his side, and that of his nephew William, are not less prolix. The intermediate space of the south aisle is occupied by monuments of several relatives of the late chancellor of the diocese, Dr. Sturges.

(1) See p. 28.

(2) *Materiam superabat opus.* OVID.

(3) He died in 1729.

Within the fifth intercolumnation, and in a line with Wykeham's chantry, is a plain, decent, mural monument of marble, with fluted columns, to the memory of John Penton, esq. ob. 1721.—On the south-west and the south-east columns of the said chantry, are the funeral tablets of two prebendaries, who were both, in their times, school-masters of Wykeham's college. The first of these was Dr. William Harris, who dying in 1700, left 800*l.* to ornament the choir, which money was in a great part expended on those Grecian vases that so uncharacteristically fill the niches in the altar screen, where the statues of the apostles and patron saints of the West Saxons formerly stood. In these days, such images would be placed under the canopies, without any imputation of idolatry, and certainly with more beauty and effect than the above-mentioned vases. The latter of these college masters was Christopher Eyre, LL.B. who yielded to fate in 1743.

The sixth intercolumnation of the south aisle is filled with the most valuable, as well as the most magnificent, mural monument in the whole cathedral. It represents bishop Willis, (1) who is interred near it, as large as life, with soft flowing robes, gracefully reposing on a rich ancient sarcophagus. His left arm, with natural ease, supports itself on a pile of books, whilst his right hand is significantly extended, and his countenance, with speaking features, is fixed on heaven. The architecture of the pediment, under which he rests, as also of the columns and entablature that support it, being all of the finest veined and spotted marbles, is superb without being heavy, and forms a finished specimen of the Composite order. The sculptor, whose name was Cheere, a name that deserves to be transmitted to posterity with that of Roubiliac, has been guilty of one error, which is said to have preyed so much upon his mind, as to occasion his death. He has made his statue face the west end instead of the east of the church, contrary to all precedent, ancient and modern. (2)

(1) Obiit A.D. 1734.

(2) In some countries it has been the practice to bury priests with their heads to the east, so as to seem facing their congregations, but this practice does not appear to have ever prevailed here.

Under the next arch is seen a tablet of far inferior merit, both for materials, design, and execution. It commemorates, however, the indivisible friend of bishop Willis, dean Naylor of this cathedral, who died in 1739; on which account the situation that it occupies was chosen for it. Under the tablet itself is an oval of white marble, deserving of notice, on which the proper emblems of Death, Judgment, Time, and Eternity, are portrayed. It is inscribed with the significative word, **MEMENTO.**(1)

The eighth mural monument consists of a plain marble tablet, without ornament or pompous epitaph, to the memory of Dr. Edmund Pyle, prebendary of the cathedral, who died in 1776. Opposite to this, on the south side of the nave, under a large ancient tomb-stone, (2) which adjoins that of bishop Horne, is the place of burial of the present bishop of Winchester's lady, which we have already noticed.

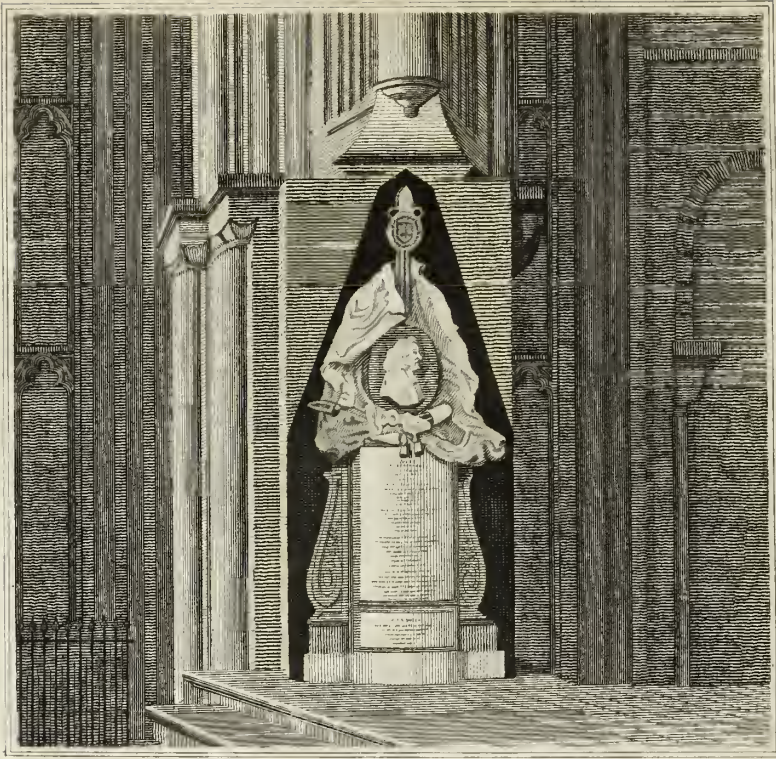
Under the ninth window from the west end, is the elegant funeral tablet of the late earl of Banbury, with an epitaph containing an account of his family, and of his domestic and public virtues. He died in 1793. In an oval beneath, are inscribed the name and age of the late countess of Banbury, who died in 1798.

The last, in the series of mural monuments in the great south aisle, is one

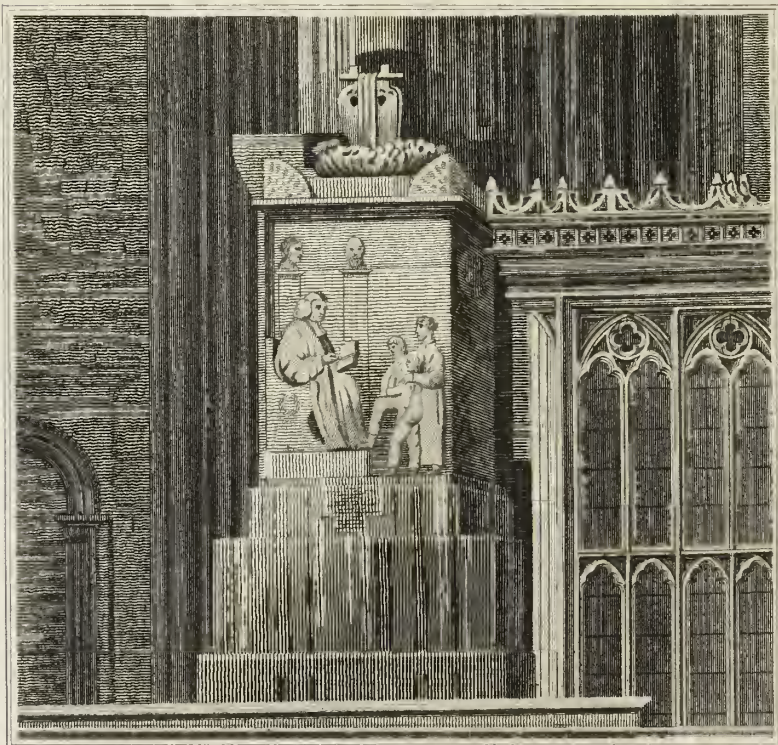
(1) *Remember.*

(2) This stone, which denotes the sepulchre of a former mayor of Winchester, by name *Thomas Bowland*, and of his wife *Editha*, deserves the particular notice of those who are studious of the history and antiquities of our city, as it seems to overturn the authority of one of its most accredited records, namely, the list of its mayors since Florence de Lunn, in the year 1184. For it is to be observed, that no such name as the above-mentioned is therein to be found. The list of which we are speaking, was about thirteen years ago painted upon the present tables, from an old parchment which seems to have been written in the 16th, or the beginning of the 17th century, a period that was infamous for forgeries of various kinds. About that time some charters and records of London, as well as of Winchester, began to appear, for which there is no evidence of a prior date. The inscription on the said grave-stone, which is deeply cut in uncial letters, stands as follows:—

Hic jacent Thomas Bowland quondam Major Minton Civitatis, qui obiit sexto decimo die mensis Octobris Anno Dni Millesimo Quadringentesimo Octogesimo v, Et Editha uxor ejus quæ obiit xiii mensis Octobris....



Bishop Hoadly's Monument in Winchester Cathedral.



Ja^s cave del. 1809.

Ja^s Basse sc.

Dr. Warton's Monument in Winchester Cathedral.

erected to the memory of the late Dr. Balguy, archdeacon of the diocese; who being gifted with natural and acquired talents which must have insured him success and fame in any station that he might occupy, had yet the rare moderation of declining the highest dignity of his profession, when it was in his power to have risen to it. The proof of this, amongst his other praises, is here recorded in his epitaph. The monument is, at the same time, simple and elegant; being judiciously designed and masterly executed. It consists of a proper sized urn of Parian marble, with a black veined marble pyramid, which is charged with arms, and forms the back ground. The whole finishes at the bottom with grapes and foliage of the most exquisite workmanship.

On the pavement, before this monument, and close to Edington's chantry, is the sepulchre and funeral stone of the late bishop Thomas, who died in 1781. His epitaph recounts the successive honours to which he rose; amongst which, the greatest was his having, in quality of tutor, formed the young mind of so good a man as his present Majesty. Further eastward is a black marble slab with an epitaph, to commemorate the premature death of Miss Isabella Newton Ogle, daughter of the late dean Ogle, who died in 1780, aged sixteen years.

Nearly opposite to the monument of Dr. Balguy, and corresponding with that of bishop Hoadley, being placed against the pillar on the steps leading up to the choir, is a memorial, lately erected, to the memory of another celebrated literary character, the contemporary and friend of Dr. Balguy, viz. the famous master of Winchester College, Dr. Warton. He is represented at full length, as seated in a chair, with a book in his hand, teaching a set of boys, who are standing before him. This mode of representation, however characteristic of the general occupation of Dr. Warton's life, and descriptive of the affection and gratitude of his scholars, who raised this monument, is perhaps less appropriate and less honourable to the deceased, than if he had been exhibited in a rapture of poetic enthusiasm, repeating the verses of some favourite bard, or writing his own *Ode to Fancy*. The countenance is animated, but much too youthful to please those who had

not known the deceased, till within twenty years before his death; and the live-long wig, that used to flow on his shoulders, is ill supplied by the stiff tufted head dress on the Parian stone before us. The countenances, figures, and the grouping of the youthful band are deservedly admired. In the back ground are two bass reliefs, inscribed in Greek characters, Homer and Aristotle, to denote the talents of the deceased in poetry and criticism. His mortal remains, as will be afterwards mentioned, lie in a different part of the cathedral. The sculptor of the present monument is the same who executed that of Mrs. North, viz. Mr. Flaxman, of London. The following is the inscription engraved upon it:—

H. S. E.
 Josephus Warton, S. T. P.
 Hujus ecclesiæ
 Prebendarius
 Scholæ Wintoniensis
 Per annos fere triginta
 Informator
 Poeta fervidus facilis expolitus
 Criticus eruditus perspicax elegans
 Obiit XXIII Feb. MDCCC
 Ætat LXXVIII.
 Hoc qualecunque
 Pictatis monumentum
 Præceptori optimo
 Desideratissimo
 Wiccamici sui
 P. C.

Within the recess of the south transept, where it joins the nave of the church, is a large and costly mausoleum of white marble, enriched with military and naval trophies, and other ornaments, which altogether have a heavy appearance. It is raised to the memory of sir Isaac Townsend, knight of the garter, and one of the lords of the admiralty, who departed this life in 1731. His epitaph is on the front of the tomb; on the opposite side, is one to the memory of his lady.

In the southern of the two chapels, in this transept, the most remark-

able monument consists of a flaming urn, under a Doric arch, ornamented with sepulchral lamps and family arms. It is erected to the memory of Dr. John Nicholas, prebendary of the cathedral and successively scholar, fellow, and warden of both Wykeham's colleges. On the one in this city, he expended vast sums of money, with greater liberality than judgment. The epitaph celebrates his virtues and good deeds at great length; whilst his wife, who lies by him, is praised for having ordered, with her dying breath, that no posthumous praises should be bestowed upon her.

In the adjoining chapel are several monuments of the Eyre, Dingley, Mompesson, and other families. One of these commemorates Mary, the lady of colonel Young, who was gentleman of the privy chamber to Charles I. She herself was the daughter of William Bridges, esq. and grand-daughter of Thomas Bridges, baron Chandos, (1) of Sudley. This lady died in 1687, aged 80.—On the pavement, in the front of this chapel, is a large marble tomb-stone, with a long epitaph to the memory of Madam Mary Davies, as she is called, daughter of sir Jonathan Trelawny, bart. Her husband colonel Davies is also here recorded, at great length, for his valour, and for having received his death wound, at the famous siege of Namur, under king William. She died in 1707.

Ascending the steps, which lead out of the transept through the iron gate into the south aisle of the presbytery, after passing a considerable way over the hollow crypts that undermine this part of the church, we come at length to a mural monument of very late date, namely, that of Dr. Turner, prebendary, who died in 1798. It is raised against the south wall, opposite to Beaufort's chantry, and consists of a plain white tablet and urn, supported, according to a late fashion, by a heavy square pier of plain Portland stone. Altogether it offends the eye, and produces the most fatal effect in strikingly interrupting that beautiful arcade, supported by light and bold pillars with intermediate quatrefoil ornaments, with which our ancient prelate Godfrey de Lucy ornamented the whole inside of this his portion of the cathedral, according to the early Gothic style. It is true, this is not

(1) Called in the epitaph Baron Chandris of Sudley.

the only violation of the original work that occurs. For, a little higher up, we behold the stiff and clumsy upright statue of sir John Clobery, (1) under an Ionic arch, and surrounded with warlike instruments, which covers no small part of it. Still, however, this statue, indifferent and ill placed as it is, has its use in marking the gradations of modern dress and accoutrements. Particularly it shews the last remnant of the ancient helmet, which is seen peeping above the enormous periwig of the reign of Charles II. and we view the first rudiment of the modern coat, into which the cloak of the former reigns was then transformed.

Near the eastern extremity of this aisle are the monuments of several persons of high rank, but all of them on the pavement, namely, of James Touchet, baron Audley, and earl of Castlehaven, who died in 1700; of the countess of Exeter, deceased in 1663; of lord Henry Paulet, in 1672; of Elizabeth Shirley, daughter of the earl of Ferrers, in 1740; also of the countess of Essex, whose epitaph concludes with the following particular: *Obiit penult. Aug. A.D. 1656, et hic sepulta oratione funebri a marito ipso, more prisco, laudata fuit.* (2) There is one of these funeral stones, directly under the wall, which has the distinction of being surrounded with an iron palisade. This covers the remains of Baptist Levinz, who was at the same time bishop of the Isle of Man, and prebendary of this cathedral. His copious Latin epitaph celebrates him as an imitator of the primitive fathers and a possessor of all episcopal virtues; amongst which are mentioned, his abstemiousness and frequent fasting. Such were the approved ethics so lately as the year 1692, in which bishop Levinz died.

There is no modern monument in Langton's chapel, at the eastern extremity of the south aisle; and but one in the adjoining Lady Chapel, and that is a cenotaph, or empty sepulchre, as appears by the following inscription upon it:

(1) See his epitaph in full, *Hist. &c.* vol. ii, p. 61.

(2) She died August 30, 1656, and was here interred, having been celebrated by her husband in a funeral oration, after the ancient manner. N. B. The husband here spoken of, was her second husband, and seems to have made the epitaph as well as the oration, by name sir Thomas Higgons, knight, who died in 1692, and lies buried near his countess.

Anno Salutis 1705. Ætatis suæ 58.
 Carolus hunc posuit lapidem Layfieldus inanem,
 Præsenti exequias dum parat ipse sibi.
 Si tamen hic nolit Deus illius ossa jacere
 Tum teneat vacuus nomen inane lapis. (1)

The occasion of this stone and inscription was, that Dr. Charles Layfield having new paved the Lady Chapel, prepared at the same time his own sepulchre in it, which however he never filled. In performing this work, there is reason to believe that he destroyed a great number of interesting ancient tomb-stones, some of which in a reversed situation, form part of the present pavement.

In the remaining chapel at the eastern extremity of the cathedral, as we have already noticed, (2) are the monument and episcopal ornaments of bishop Mews, and the altar tomb, with the inimitable recumbent statue, in bronze, of Richard Weston duke of Portland, lord high treasurer under Charles I. with marble busts of three of his family. He died in 1634.

Adjoining to the last-mentioned chapel, is a stone to the memory of Sarah, daughter of sir Richard Tichborne, bart. who died in 1616. Close to this are the monuments of several of the Mason family; one of whom, a lady of the name of Catherine, celebrated for her beauty, piety, and chastity, scores her deceased husbands in the following order:

Relicta { Johannis Vaux, Med. Drs.
 Thomæ Hussey, Armig.
 Roberti Mason, Equit. Aurat. (3)

- (1) In the year of our Redemption 1705, and of his age 58,
 Charles Layfield placed this empty funeral monument
 Whilst he prepared, in his life time, his future sepulchre.
 But if it be God's will that his bones should rest elsewhere,
 Then let this stone record at least his mere name.

(2) See p. 66.

- (3) She was the widow of { John Vaux, Doctor of Physic;
 Thomas Hussey, Esquire;
 Robert Mason, Knight of the Garter.

Not far from the same place are the grave-stones of two worthy characters, whose epitaphs, in part, deserve to be repeated, for the honour of the deceased, and the exhortation of the living. The first of these is in memory of William Symonds, the worthy magistrate of Winchester, who founded CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, still subsisting in this city. His epitaph concludes as follows:

His merit doth inherit life and fame:
For whilst this city stands Symonds his name
In poor mens hearts shall never be forgotten;
For poores prayers rise, when flesh lies rotten.

The second of these stones commemorates Dr. William Coker, a physician, whose departed spirit is addressed in the conclusion of the epitaph as follows:

Si lapis iste siluerit, enarrabunt te, fere pietatis monumenta quotquot in hac urbe vagantur pauperes. (1)

Such living monuments are the most glorious, as well as the most faithful, that can be raised to any person's memory, and such will supercede the necessity of a funeral stone for a living character of the same profession with the deceased, whenever death shall deprive Winchester of his services.

Descending from this part of the church into the north transept, are various modern monuments on the pavement, not sufficiently interesting to be here particularly noticed, and yet by no means deserving of the ridicule that has been cast upon some of them in a former account of the cathedral. (2)

Nothing now remains but to give an account of the mural monuments in the great north aisle, from the transept down to the western door. The

(1) Should this stone be silent, yet the living monuments of thy charity which survive in all the poor of the city will record thy praise. N. B. This and the preceding epitaph being now much defaced, are borrowed from Gale, who copied them a century ago.

(2) See the burlesque verses on the family of Rivers, on that of Harris of Silstead, &c. in the duodecimo History of Winchester, vol. i, p. 76, 77, &c.

first of these is erected to the memory of the Rivers family, of which the epitaph on the tablet gives a full account. This is surmounted by a pyramid of beautiful black and white marble, with shields upon it elegantly displayed and executed. The summit of the pyramid is crowned with the family crest, a bull collared and chained.

Under the next arch towards the west, is an exceedingly splendid monument, consisting of the choicest Parian and Sienna marbles, with a gilt border round the epitaph. The chief sculpture on it represents a large urn, with a weeping willow drooping over it; there is also a second urn on the top of the pyramid. The persons here commemorated are Ann, the wife of James Morley, esq. of Kempshot, in this county, who died in 1787. and James Morley himself, who followed her to eternity in 1798. This memorial is placed at a small distance from the burial place of bishop Morley and his family. It does not however appear that the deceased, though of the same name, were related to it.

In the third intercolumnation we view the tasteful marble monument of Mat. Comb, M.D. who departed this life in 1748. It consists of an urn, adorned with garlands and flowers, standing upon a sarcophagus, with a pyramid and sepulchral lamps. It is a defect, however, that the urn, like that of Dr. Nicholas, mentioned above, is rather an elegant vase than a cinerary vessel; which latter requires to be flat and low, like the one in Dr. Balguy's monument. It is also an incongruity to introduce both a sarcophagus and an urn into the monument of a single person; the former indicating that the body was buried, the latter that it was burnt.

We next come to a plain Doric monument with fluted columns, in memory of Charles Woodroffe, LL.D. a prebendary of the cathedral, and a noted magistrate of the county, who died in 1728; and of Elizabeth, his wife, who preceded him to eternity in 1721. But if the monument itself is modest, the epitaph is by no means so; for it represents, in plain terms, the persons deceased as possessing every virtue and qualification which can respectively adorn man and woman.

The fifth intercolumnation is loaded with a clumsy monument of bad

Corinthian architecture, with whimsical ornaments. The epitaph, which appears not to have been engraven, but barely painted, is now obliterated; so that it is not known for whom it was intended. By the style, however, of the architecture, it is clearly ascertained to have been erected by those Vandals of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, who in excuse for having destroyed so much beautiful workmanship of former ages, branded it with the opprobrious name of Gothic.—On the adjoining eastern pillar is a neat marble monument, of the true Corinthian order, to the memory of Robert Pescod, esq. who died in 1725.

The next mural monument commemorates sir Villiers Chernock, bart. who died in 1779, and likewise his lady, who departed this life ten years after him. It is exceedingly splendid, consisting of the most beautiful marbles, and being enriched with emblematical sculpture in alto relievo. On one side of the urn, under a weeping pillow, stands Justice with her sword and scales. On the other is Charity, feeding and clothing poor children. The following defects, however, will strike every spectator of taste. The sculpture of the willow is uncommonly heavy. Indeed none of our cathedral artists have succeeded in representing that common emblem of grief. In the next place, the sword and scales of Justice, as well as the spoon of the child, are seen to be of metal. Now for the imitative arts to adopt any kind of reality, instead of the representation, is to confess a poverty which does not belong to them, and to deprive the spectator of the proper pleasure they are intended to produce, a just imitation. With as much propriety might Charity present one of the children, whom she is clothing, with real cloth, as she has furnished the other with a real silver spoon to eat his mess with.

The seventh intercolumnation, corresponding with the ancient font, is the only one which we have yet had occasion to notice in either aisle, as being vacant of a mural monument; yet underneath this pavement repose personages, as well deserving of that honour, as any of those upon whom it has been conferred. Here lies the glory of her sex, the late Mrs. Montague, whose benevolence and charities the poor will long remember, and

whose genius, displayed in the vindication of its favourite poet, the English nation will never forget. Here also rests, without a stone to tell where he lies, (1) the far-famed Master of Winchester College, who has raised so many other persons to fame, both by his pen and his living instructions, Dr. Joseph Warton.

Near this honoured spot is a black marble monument, to the memory of Mary Ann, the late amiable lady of Dr. Littlehales, of this city, who died in 1786, aged 27 years.

Below the next window towards the west, is another of those clumsy monuments, of the period above-mentioned, with an epitaph, which for its quaintness some readers will think deserving of notice. (2)

Underneath the ninth arch from the north transept is an elegant mural tablet and pyramid, erected by major Pool to the memory of his lady, who died in 1779; and of her father, Thomas Lacy, esq. who died lieutenant-governor of Tinmouth Castle, in 1763. There are urns, inscribed with the above recorded names and dates, as likewise a vacant one for those of the major himself; but all three of so small a size, that they might pass rather for lachrymatories than for urns.

The last monument in this series has been placed by Isabella, the daughter of Lancelot Lee, esq. in memory of her husband, George Hurst, esq. who died in 1738, and lies here interred; and of two of her children, who died and lie buried in India.

The general fault, however, of all these mural monuments is, that how-

(1) Since the first edition of this work, a splendid monument has been raised to him, as described in p. 92, to which the present hint may perhaps have given occasion.

(2) It runs thus:—A Union of two Brothers from Avington. The Clerks Family were, Grandfather, Father, and Son, successively Clerks of the Privy Seal. William, the Grandfather, had but two sons, both Thomas's, their wives both Amy's, and their heirs both Henry's, and the heirs of the Henry's both Thomas's. Both their wives were inheritrixes, and both had two sons and one daughter, and both their daughters issueless. Both of Oxford, both of the Temple, both officers to Queen Elizabeth and our noble King James. Both Justices of the Peace, both agree in arms, the one a Knight, the other a Captain. Si Queras Avingtonum, Petas Cancellum. Impensis Thomæ Clerk of Hide. 1662.

ever beautiful in themselves, being universally of Grecian architecture, they cannot possibly assimilate with the general style of the venerable fabric in which they are placed; and on the contrary, that they necessarily cover some of its appropriate and essential ornaments. This is indeed common to almost all modern monuments in Gothic cathedrals. But what seems to distinguish those in our own, particularly those which have been more recently erected, is that they are so placed as to occasion the destruction or loss of infinitely more of the ancient ornamental work than there is any occasion for: it being the present practice to carry up a large pier of plain stone from the ground, in order to support the smallest tablet, which might equally well have been fixed against the wall, (as we see in some of those of more ancient date) and even to cover the whole intercolumnation with a screen, or wall of Portland stone; just as if the rich and beautiful mullions and arches of the original architecture were defects which ought as much as possible to be concealed from view! (1)

(1) To form a judgement how much the practice here reprobated, takes off from the perfection, and violates the beauty, of a cathedral, finished in the rich pointed style of past ages, it will be proper for the intelligent observer, as we have elsewhere observed, to place himself, for example, in the centre of Wykeham's magnificent fabric. "He will there view the massive cluster columns, like the trunks of huge trees, in a grand vista, shooting out their main branches to form the grand arches between the nave, and the aisles, and thence towering up to a vast height, and ramifying into the various intersections of the vaulted ceiling. Corresponding with those branches, but in a different direction, are boughs, which meeting in a point with other boughs, that grow from a series of smaller cluster-columns on the opposite side, form the enchanting perspective of the long-drawn side-aisles. The intercolumnations of the nave are, of course, open into the body of the church; those of the side-aisles form the principal windows, down to within about fifteen feet from the pavement. These spaces have been decorated by the taste and skill of Wykeham with cinque-foil arches, and mouldings, exactly corresponding with the mullions of the windows; being, in fact, a continuation of them down to the ground. Thus the whole main body of the church, as it came from the hands of its immortal founder, was throughout uniformly ornamented, with a tasteful elegance that hardly admitted of any addition, and with a chaste simplicity that certainly allowed of no diminution." It is true, the violation of the symmetry and beauty here described, is not confined to the cathedral of this city, nor to the cathedrals of this kingdom. On the contrary, most of the Gothic churches on the continent exhibit grosser

architectural barbarisms, and a greater contempt of the skill by which they were raised, than are to be met with in our own. Still it is for the interest of science and of the arts, that errors and defects relating to them, however general and inveterate, should be pointed out; and that every one, who has it in his power, should lend his aid to correct the public taste, where it is vicious. It is not here intended to censure the practice of erecting monuments in ancient churches to the memory of distinguished personages: but any man moderately skilled in the Pointed or Gothic architecture, would shew how a monument of any dimensions whatsoever, from a simple shield to a gorgeous mausoleum, might be so constructed, as not to disfigure, but rather to decorate an ancient cathedral. The public is at length convinced of the impropriety of Inigo Jones's beautiful Grecian screen at the entrance of the choir. It may hereafter learn, that every erection or ornament whatsoever, ought to assimilate with the style of the fabric of which it forms part.

In some of our cathedrals, the abuses here complained of are not suffered; no monument being permitted to be erected, which would interfere with the original architecture of the building. In no church, however, has this rule been so utterly disregarded for upwards of two centuries, as in the venerable abbey of Westminster, where we find the whole of the original monuments buried under heaps of such heavy and incongruous representations, (amongst some good statues,) as never met together any where else. This was, in some degree, tolerable, whilst the monuments were confined to the walls of the church; but now the open intercolumnations begin to be choaked up with such mountains of stone, carved and uncarved, as to present the appearance of a statuary's shop.—To speak now of the general style of the public monuments, raised at the present day: Every one must have remarked how simple and chaste are the figures of the ancient heroes and sages, executed by a Phidias and a Praxiteles. Whereas our modern chisselmen are accustomed to crowd together so many colossal figures of allegorical personages, of heathen gods and goddesses, (and that too in Christian churches,) and of other cumbrous emblems, in their monuments, that the hero himself is almost lost in the motley group. This taste cannot be right, unless that of Athens and Rome was wrong.

CHAP. IV.

The original Grave of St. Swithun.—Site of St. Grimbald's Monastery, called the New Minster.—Site of the Conqueror's Palace.—Ruins of the Charnel-House and its Chapel in the Church-Yard.—The Cloisters of the Priory.—The Uses for which they were intended.—Remains of the Chapter-House.—Remarkable Scenes that have taken place in it.—The Priors' Quarters.—The Lavatory and Refectory.—Account of the Conventual Fare.—Coronation Feast held in this Refectory.—Other Offices of the Priory.—Hospitality exercised in it.—The End and Nature of a Monastic Life.—The Advantages to Society of this Institute.—Distinguished Personages who have been Members of St. Swithun's Priory.—A Catalogue and brief Account of the Priors.—The South Gate of the Inclosure.—The adjoining Parish Church of St. Swithun.—King's Gate.—The Nun's Hospital.

PASSING out of the cathedral by the west door, as we entered into it, there are many objects worthy of attention in the environs of this venerable fabric. Adjoining to the north-west corner we discover some foundation stones. These formed part of a small chapel, which was erected over the spot in which St. Swithun was originally buried; (1) and which therefore was probably raised in the tenth century, when St. Ethelwold transferred the remains of that saint into the cathedral, and deposited them in the magnificent shrine prepared for them by king Edgar. As we survey, from this situation, the north and east parts of the present church-

(1) " Jam valcfactus (S. Swithunus) cadaver suum extra ecclesiam præcepit tumulari, ubi postea constructa est modica capella, quæ adhuc cernitur ad boreale ostium navis ecclesiæ." Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. III, c. II.

yard, we behold the site of another ancient church and monastery, which vied with the cathedral itself in magnificence and the dignity of its establishment; being founded by the immortal Alfred, and built by his son Edward the Elder, as a burying-place for their family, and a retreat for the learned and holy abbot Grimbald. (1) It was dedicated in the names of the Blessed Virgin and of St. Peter and St. Paul, (2) to which that of St. Grimbald was afterwards joined: but its general name was *Neuan Monestre*, (3) or the New Monastery, in opposition to the cathedral, which was generally called *Ealder Monestre*, (4) or the Old Monastery. The ground in this situation, originally belonging partly to the cathedral, and partly to certain inhabitants, was so valuable at the time we are speaking of, that a mark of gold was paid for every foot of it which the new erection occupied, (5) to the number of 1884 feet. (6) When we treat particularly of this monastery, under the name of Hyde Abbey, so called from the name of the place into which it was removed, we shall give the history of its various fortune in this its original situation, and assign the causes of its removal, which took place in the reign of Henry I. At present it is sufficient to observe, that the church of this abbey was parallel, and in all appearance of the same length, with the cathedral itself; and though the cloisters and other offices of the former, probably stood between the two churches, yet they were sufficiently near, mutually to disturb each other by the voices and organs of the respective choirs, when they performed the divine office together. (7) The site of the abbey, thus left vacant, having been granted by the king, into whose hands it had been resigned, (8) to the cathedral priory, to which it had originally belonged,

(1) See vol. i, p. 132, 133.

(2) Nob. Ethelwerd. Harpsfield.

(3) Chron. Sax. Gul. Malm. Rudb. passim.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Will. Malm. De Reg. l. ii, and De Pontif. Rudb. l. iii.

(6) "Terra quam commutavit pro cœmeterio se extendebat ad mensuram trium stadiorum & trium virgarum." Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. iii. c. vii.

(7) Will. Malm. De Pontif. & De Reg.

(8) Cart. ap. Dudg.

was laid out in a garden for the sacristan, afterwards called Paradise, another garden for the infirmary, a mill, and a brewhouse. (1)

On part of the ground formerly occupied by the New Minster, on the north side of the church-yard, stands the present Matrons' College, being a plain neat building with two wings, and enclosed with a wall in front, erected and endowed by bishop Morley, for the lodging and maintenance of ten ministers' widows.—Carrying our eyes towards the north-west extremity of the church-yard, we see, close to the houses in that part, the bottom of the stone wall, to the height of about a yard, which formerly enclosed the whole domain of St. Swithun's priory. The situation in question, together with what is now called the Square, was formerly occupied by a royal palace, equally large and magnificent with the king's palace in London; which was either built or enlarged by William the Conqueror, who, in effecting this, made a considerable encroachment upon the confined and dear-bought enclosure of the New Minster. (2) This palace was destroyed, in the zenith of his power, by bishop De Blois, king Stephen's brother, as incommoding the cathedral; (3) and another was soon afterwards built instead of it, at the north-west extremity of the city. At the south-west corner of the church-yard, in a line with the great door of the cathedral, we observe the close wall terminating in a round mass, which seems to indicate fortifications. The fact is, the enclosure, as we have shewn, (4) was originally fortified against the incursions of the Danes, and it was more or less in the same state in the reign of Henry III. when it seems for a time to have resisted the fury of a tumultuous popu-

(1) "In quâ terrâ stat versorium, cum gardino sacristæ, et cum terrâ in quâ ædificatum est braccinum, cum gardino infirmorum." *Rudb. l. iii, c. vii.*

(2) *Carta de Inspeximus. Dugd. Monastic.*

(3) "Domos regias apud Wintoniam ecclesiæ ipsius atrio nimis enormiter imminentes, regiæ Londinensi, nec qualitate nec quantitate, secundas, quoniam cathedrali ecclesiæ, cui præerat, nimium vicinæ fuerant et onerosæ, vir animosus et audax funditus in brevi raptim, et subito, nactâ solum temporis opportunitate, dejecit." *Girald. Cambren. De Vit. Sex Episc. Ang. Sac. p. 421.*

(4) *Vol. i, p. 122.*

lace. (1) At all events we know that in this spot was a gateway, and the principal entrance to the church. (2) Not far from the porch, on the south side, is seen a rugged wall, composed of flint and hard mortar, in which, beyond where the modern carriage way has been made, we discern the canopies of windows and of a doorway; the rest of the building to which they belong being buried in the earth and ruins that have accumulated round them. These fragments have been the subject of much discussion; and the prevailing opinion is that they belonged to the old college of monks, who served the cathedral from its second foundation until the Saxon invasion; the same to which Constans belonged, who of a monk became an emperor. (3) Others suppose them to have been part of the old Saxon convent destroyed by Walkelin; (4) but the erroneousness of both these opinions we think is obvious. For, first, it is not probable that the habitations of the monks or clergy would, at either of these periods, have been built in that situation, and at such a distance from the church; as these walls must have stood before the church was extended to its present length westward. Secondly, we may take it for granted, that the several bishops and benefactors of the cathedral, and the monks themselves in later ages, would never have permitted a useless heap of ruins to have disgraced and obstructed the entrance into the cathedral, and to have occupied a situation of so much importance to their convent. Lastly, the canopies of these windows, which are described by the writers in question to belong to the same mass of ruins, (5) consist of pointed arches. To speak our own sentiments on this question, we are persuaded, that these ruins belonged to a building distinct from the rugged walls next to the church porch. The

(1) *Annal. Wint. an. 1274.* *Annal. Wigorn. ad dict. an.*

(2) *Speed's Chorography.*

(3) *Camden, Hampshire.* *Clarendon and Gale's Antiquities*, p. 8. *Magna Britannia*, vol. II, p. 856.

(4) *Warton's Description*, p. 66. *Anonymous Hist.* vol. II, p. 82.

(5) See *Clarendon and Gale*, also *Magna Britannia*, ut supra.

former we have no doubt belonged to the "chapelle with a carnyary (1) at the west ende of the cathedrale chirch," (2) which Leland gives us to understand existed even in his time; the latter, we suppose, was the great gateway of the convent on this side, leading into the cellarer's or steward's quarters, which advanced a considerable way before the front of the church, in the same manner as we see the gate advances before the ancient church of Peterborough. It is also probable, from the foundations still visible, extending along the whole front of the church; that a wall of a moderate height proceeded from this gate until it met, at a right angle, the wall of the sacristy garden. In this supposition, the rugged walls, which formed the gateway and part of the ancient monastery, must have been the work of Walkelin; the chapel and carnyary are evidently of a later date, by more than a century. What seems to have increased the ruinous appearance of the walls next to the church, has been the pulling down of certain houses, which had been built against them soon after the Reformation; the rafters of which had been let into the walls of the cathedral, as appears by the holes in them still visible. The houses were destroyed in consequence of a general regulation, made in the reign of Charles I. with respect to all such encroachments. At the same time, we mean in 1632, when Curle was bishop of this see, and Laud archbishop of Canterbury, it being judged indecent that the church should be left open as a common thoroughfare into the close and the southern suburbs of the city; the passage, called the slype, was opened, (3) where the aforesaid houses had stood,

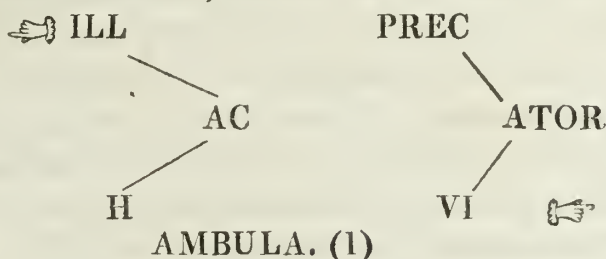
(1) A carnyary was what is now called a bone-house; it being esteemed a pious act, and arguing a belief in the general resurrection, to collect every fragment of the human frame, which happened to be dispersed, and to dispose of it in the most decent manner, in a place appointed for this purpose. Hence there were carnyaries to most great church yards. To these there were usually chapels annexed, in which prayers were offered up for the repose of the forgotten dead, to whom the said fragments belonged. We shall see that in our city there was another great carnyary at the lower end of it.

(2) Leland's Itinerary, vol. III, p. 100.

(3) This has been lately much enlarged by the present Dean, for the better accommodation of the inhabitants.

and also under the south-wall of the cathedral; not however without perforating the great buttress on that side. This event is commemorated in certain anagrams, which are seen both at the west and east entrances of the slype, in the following manner:—

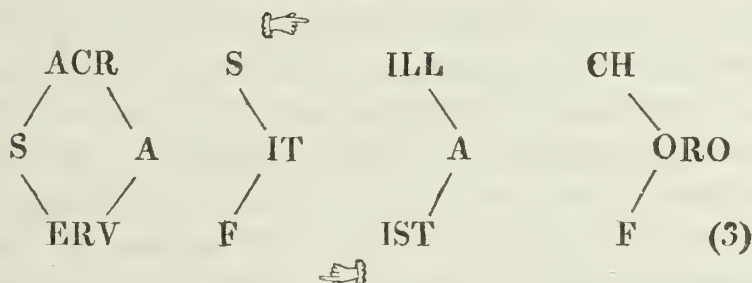
On a pier of the cathedral, near the west entrance of the slype.



Over an arch at the east entrance of the slype:

1632.

CESSIT COMMUNI PROPRIUM JAM PURGITE QUA FAS. (2)



In our passage through the slype we find three several ways into the church, two of which are now closed up. One of these was on the outside of where the main body of the convent joined the church, at the distance of nearly forty feet from its western extremity, corresponding with a similar doorway in the north aisle. Another of them was a passage from the

(1) Viz. Illac preator hac viator ambula. The meaning of which is:—*That way thou who comest to pray, this way thou who art pursuing thy journey, walk.*

(2) Private property has yielded to public utility. Proceed now by the way that is opened to thee.

(3) Viz. Sacra sit illa choro, serva sit ista foro. The English of which is:—*That way is consecrated to the choir, this way leads to the market.* On the recent enlargement of the slype, the latter inscriptions were placed in the wall south of the cathedral.

west wing of the convent into the church, the said wing being 35 feet in depth. The third door, namely, that which is now open, led into the church from the west cloister. Being arrived at this door, we find ourselves within the great quadrangle of the ancient cloisters, which extended 180 feet east and west, and 174 feet north and south, and were 12 feet broad. In walking over the empty square, which was once adorned with that interesting portion of an ancient cathedral; we have reason to lament that a man of bishop Horne's character (1) was ever appointed by Elizabeth to govern the diocese of Winchester. In robbing the cathedral of those beautiful porticos, which still adorn so many other churches in this country, we see that he has also essentially weakened the fabric itself, by depriving it of those props on the south side, which answered the purpose of the buttresses on the north side. This will be manifest by an examination of the arches of the windows and the building in general in this part. It appears by certain tokens that the east and south cloisters were of the ancient work of Walkelin; but the north cloister, adhering to the south aisle of the church, must have been taken down by Edington and Wykeham, with the aisle itself. Hence we may venture to say, that it was rebuilt in the usual style of the age in which they lived; that is to say, with buttresses and pinnacles. Thus the nakedness of the cathedral on this side, for want of those ornaments, which bishop Lowth mentions as a defect, (2) did not originally exist, but was occasioned by the sacrilegious avarice of the sixteenth century, allured by the paltry value of the lead which covered these porticos. As the west wing of the monastery is proved, by the ornaments and style of what remains of it, to have been rebuilt a little before the Reformation; there is no doubt but the cloister which rested against it, was constructed anew at the same time, and of course was furnished with buttresses and pinnacles, projecting into the area, like the last mentioned. The use of these cloisters was not for conversation; or amusement, as is generally supposed. On the contrary, a perpetual silence was observed in them, except when it was

(1) See vol. i, p. 370.

(2) Life of William of Wykeham, p. 212.

interrupted by the psalms and other prayers which were chanted in the frequent processions that were made around them. In these processions, the monks went from the church out of the east door, and returned into it again by the west door. (1) There were also daily progresses of the religious community through them from the church to the refectory, before meals; and back again to it, after them, during which they sung grace. Here the monks were chiefly buried, to afford a proper *memento* to their brethren, who walked over their ashes. The north cloister, adjoining to the church, was particularly sacred, being chiefly destined for pious lectures; which were sometimes performed aloud to the assembled fraternity, and sometimes in private, each monk reading silently to himself.

On the east side of the square we behold a cloister, ninety feet in length, actually existing. It led towards the ancient infirmary, and is part of Walkelin's original work. This, however, is far from being in the style of the destroyed cloisters of the quadrangle; for it is unavoidably dark, from the impossibility there was of making windows in it, and is quite unornamented, as being a mere passage to the infirmary and other offices of the convent, situated beyond the south transept of the church. To the south of this dark cloister we see an ornamented doorway of the early Gothic fashion. This was the entrance into the chapter-house, the site of which now forms the dean's garden. It was a magnificent building of Norman workmanship, as appears by some of the pillars and arches, which formed the seats, still remaining in the walls. It was ninety feet square and vaulted, having a large pillar in the centre to support it; and being covered on the outside, above the dormitories, with sheets of lead; which gave occasion to its destruction about the year 1570. The use of the chapter-house was for holding religious assemblies; in which the superior

(1) This being the apparent motion of the sun, from east to west. On one occasion, however, as we have shewn, vol. i, p. 207, the community, thinking themselves injured by the bishop, who was their natural protector, made their processions the contrary way, with their processional crosses reversed, to shew that the state of things was then out of its proper order.

addressed suitable instructions and exhortations to the monks, for their spiritual improvement, either generally or individually. It appears also, that the priors were sometimes buried in the chapter-house; at least the pious and learned Godfrey was interred in it, towards the north-east corner. Here also the community met to deliberate and to decide upon such matters as they had a right to vote in; the most important of which was the election of the diocesan bishop, and of their own prior.

But the chapter-house before us has sometimes been the scene of important public transactions, such as render this spot peculiarly interesting. Here the proud and irreligious John humbled himself at the feet of archbishop Langton, in order to be absolved from his sentence of excommunication; and renewed the unnecessary and servile pledge of homage which he had before given to pope Innocent III. (1) Hither his son, Henry III. came and preached a formal sermon, upon a text which he had chosen, to the assembled monks, in order to induce them to choose his half-brother, Ethelmar, for their bishop. (2) In this place also, by the intervention of the prior and monks, a fatal misunderstanding which had taken place between our Henry of Winchester and his gallant son and deliverer, Edward I. was happily compromised. (3) In conclusion, the faithful and pious queen of Edward, after their return from the crusade, presented herself a petitioner to the chapter here held, in order to be admitted to a participation of their prayers, or, as it was termed, into their confraternity. (4)

At the extremity of the eastern, and facing the southern cloister, was a doorway (now changed) which led into the prior's quarters. This south cloister was bounded by a wall four feet thick, which was taken down during the summer of 1797, and rebuilt much slighter. In this were several circular arches, half the depth of the wall; and one wide arch in the centre was made entirely through the wall: all which were filled up with modern masonry. The former were for the purpose of seats, such being usual in the south cloisters of monasteries: the latter was the entrance

(1) See vol. i, p. 238.

(2) Ibid. p. 245.

(3) Ibid. p. 251.

(4) Ibid.

from the out quarters into the cloisters. On this side there was no high building, as there was on the other three sides, behind the cloisters; a circumstance which, by letting in the sun and air from the south, must have contributed materially to the dryness and wholesomeness of the convent. At the western extremity of this cloister is a doorway, with a pointed arch, still visible, which led into an enclosed lavatory, where the monks washed their hands before their meals; and where the prior himself poured water upon the hands of any stranger who might happen to dine with the community. In this part of the building was a stone staircase, not many years taken down, which led into a spacious vestibule standing north and south, and thence into the refectory, or dining hall of the monastery. The refectory stands east and west, and projects beyond the south cloister to the distance of about forty feet. Two long narrow windows, in the style of Henry the Third's reign, are still seen at the east end of the refectory; as likewise four round-headed windows, partly blocked up, of Walkelin's work, in its north wall; against which are placed the figures of two large chesnut trees, carved in hard stone and coloured. This hall was forty-one feet long, twenty-three broad, and nearly forty at its greatest height; being now divided into two stories. At the east end, between the windows, was the celebrated crucifix, from which a human voice was reported to have proceeded, deciding the controversy between St. Dunstan and the new-established monks, on one hand; and the ejected canons on the other; the assembly for deciding which controversy having been held in this refectory. (1) In memory of this event, the sentence then supposed to have been uttered, in confirmation of St. Dunstan's decision, with two Leonine verses, explaining it, were inscribed under the crucifix, in the following manner:—*Absit hoc ut fiat: judicastis bene: mutaretis non bene.* (2)

(1) Eadmer, in Vit. S. Dunst. Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. III, c. XIII. &c.

(2) *God forbid that this should be: you have judged right: it would be wrong to change.* Chronic Abbat Journal, ap. Twys. p. 870, who adds, “in ejus rei memoriam in capite crucifixi metricè sic scribitur,” viz. the verses cited above, which may be Englished as in the next note.

*Humano more, crux præsens edidit ore
Cœlitus affata, quæ perspicis hic subarata.* (1)

At a table, on the right hand of the crucifix, was the prior's place and that of his invited guests. On the left hand sat the sub-prior. The monks were ranged at tables placed on each side of the refectory, according to their offices and seniority. On the north side, between two of the windows, was the reader's pulpit: for devout reading or chanting was continued during the whole time of the refection; (2) and at all other times this hall was a place of silence for those who had occasion to go into it, except on certain days of recreation, when the reader was ordered down from the pulpit, and freedom of conversation was granted by the superior. The monks waited upon one another at table by weekly turns; (3) and on some occasions the prior and sub-prior themselves performed this humble office. According to the strict rule of their order, they constantly abstained from eating flesh meat; except when the use of it was judged necessary in cases of sickness. (4) However, in their most relaxed state, when this law was dispensed with, there were not more than one quarter of the days in the year in which they could avail themselves of this indulgence; on account of the numerous days of fasting or abstinence, appointed by the church or by their particular statutes. It appears, that at the time of the Norman Conquest, the monks of St. Swithun's were accustomed to eat meat in the refectory; but soon after that epoch, viz. in 1082, in consequence of the general reform of the Benedictine order introduced by Lanfrank; prior Simeon, brother to Walkelin, abolished the use of it on ordinary occasions, (5) allowing it only, according to the tenor of the rule, to the sick in the infirmary. In the year 1300, at a general chapter of the order, held at Oxford, it was left to each superior to grant the dispensation in question to the members of his own monastery, according to his discre-

(1) *This crucifix spoke with a human voice the inspired sentences which you see here inscribed.* Ibid.

(2) Reg. S. Benedicti, cap. xxxviii.

(4) Ibid. cap. xxxvi, xxxix.

(3) Ibid. cap. xxxv.

(5) Annal. Wint. an. 1082.

tion; but this decision was a subject of great and general scandal. (1) According to the aforesaid rule, the monks were allowed only two, or at most, on certain occasions, three dishes, besides a plate of herbs or fruit. (2) Our monks, however, of St. Swithun, are reproached by a sour writer and a declared foe of their order, with having, in the reign of Henry II. increased their dishes to the number of thirteen. (3) But we may presume that the greater part of these were pittances, or different kinds of legumes, and that the same sort of fish, dressed different ways, formed the greater number of the solid dishes.

On some occasions indeed every vestige of conventual frugality and regularity disappeared in this hall; namely, when certain illustrious prelates or princes chose it for the scene of grand entertainments. This was particularly the case when Richard I. held the feast of his second coronation in this refectory; at which the king of Scotland and all the great officers of the state and the prelates were present. (4) Under the refectory and vestibule are still to be seen two kitchens, arched over, in the Norman fashion, and supported by single pillars in the middle of them; with stone trussels, curiously carved, to support dressers. They are at present divided

(1) Mat. Paris, ad Dict. An. Annal. Wigorn.—The monk of Worcester remarks that he should not be surprised after this dispensation, and that of certain prayers which had been hitherto performed; if the *Pater Noster* itself were declared to be superfluous.

(2) Reg. S. Bened. c. xxxix.—In the Antiquities of Glassenbury Abbey we have its customs and regulations in this particular, such as obtained about the time of the Conquest. “*Consuetudines observatæ temporibus Turstini & Herlwini Abbatum.*—In privatis diebus, viz. Dominicâ, die Martis, die Jovis ac sabbato, *tria generalia* (principal dishes) ad refectiorem habuerunt fratres & duas pitancias (pittances, entremets, small plates, such as legumes, &c.) Cæteris vero tribus diebus, viz. feriâ 2^a, feria 4^a & 6^a duo generalia & tres pitancias. In diebus autem solemnibus, quando fratres sunt in *cappis* (cucullis, when they wore their cowls or great habits. Du Cange, Dom Mege) *medonem* habuerunt in *justis* (they had mead in their measured cans & *similas* super mensas (cakes or wastel bread placed on the tables) & *vinum ad charitatem*,” (wine in the grace cup or wassel bowl to drink health to each other). Gul. Malin. de Antiq. Glassou. Eccl.

(3) Giraldus Cambrensis, de rebus a se gestis, l. ii, c. v.

(4) Reg. Hov. Annales. Pars post. See vol. i, p. 232.

into different apartments, but it is easy to trace out that each of them was originally thirty-six feet long and twenty-six feet broad. To the north of the kitchen was the cellarer's or steward's quarters, and beyond that, near the church itself, the buttery. (1) In the wall adjoining to the slype is seen a small ornamented arch, which communicated with the buttery. (2) It is not improbable that here was what is called a Turn; by means of which the brethren, who were exhausted with fatigue and hunger, might, with the leave of their superior, at certain times call for a cup of beer of the cellarer. Near this spot, if we credit the history of queen Emma's ordeal, were buried the nine plough shares, which she then walked over. (3) The story above the last-mentioned offices, probably were the library, and the scriptorium for copying books; the great and sovereignly beneficial employment of monks before the discovery of printing.

The conventual buildings without the cloisters were much more considerable than those immediately communicating with them. The principal were the prior's quarters; part of which still subsist, and form the present deanery. We trace in particular the prior's-hall (now divided into four different apartments) by the great Gothic windows on the west side of it. (4) These seem to have been built, according to the taste of the age, about the time that prior Alexander entertained bishop Orlton here with the songs of the minstrel Herbert, concerning the combat of Guy and Colbrand, and the fiery trial of Emma. (5) Other offices of this priory, were the infirmary, which appears to have been towards the east end of the church, (6)

(1) This account of the situation of the different conventual offices is confirmed by an extract from Wykeham's Register, quoted by Warton, Description, p. 51, pointing out the course of the lock-pond. This writer, however, has mistaken the meaning of the word *hordearium* (a store-house) when he translates it a *malt-house*.

(2) This has been demolished in the late alteration of the slype.

(3) "Novem vero hi vomeres in occidentali parte claustrum Wintoniensis ecclesie erant humati." Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. iv, c. i.

(4) At the south end of this ancient hall is a brick building, said to have been added by Charles II. when he resided at the deanery, for the accommodation of Mrs. Ellinor Gwynn.

(5) See vol. i, p. 285.—There are evident traces in the building of a much higher antiquity than the age which these windows denote.

(6) Rub. l. iiii, c. vii.

near the doorway by which the bishop passed from Wolvesey to the cathedral; where the device of Fox is still seen carved on the spandrils. Not far from this, towards the south, were the work-shops of the monks, for those who were employed in manual labour. (1) There must have also been a noviciate, or distinct quarters for the residence of young monks, during the time of trial which preceded their permanent engagements; and there was certainly a garden for the exercise and recreation of the whole community. This seems to have been situated behind the west cloister, and is now divided into three prebendal gardens; in one of which, namely, that nearest to the cathedral, an artificial mount still exists, so common in ancient gardens. But the largest portion of building within the whole enclosure, must have been that which was set apart for the residence and accommodation of the numerous visitors and travellers who came to the priory; all of whom, as well poor as rich, the monks were obliged by their rule to receive with cordial hospitality, (2) and to provide with all necessaries, according to their respective ranks and circumstances, from the baron to the beggar. This was a great public benefit, where inns were few, and travelling, by reason of the badness of the roads, slow and laborious. We may form some idea of the number of guests who were received at our priory; when we learn, on one hand, that there were sometimes 500 travellers on horseback at a time entertained at Glassenbury abbey, (3) and that the monks of St. Swithun's were, from early times, a model to their brethren in other parts for their hospitality, as well as their other religious virtues; "keeping an open house, where all guests who flocked to them, both by sea and land, were supplied with every thing to the full extent of their wishes, with an inexhaustible expence, and an unwearied charity. (4)

(1) *Officiæ monachorum.* Rudb. l. I, c. vi.

(2) *Regul. S. Bened. c. LIII.*

(3) *Monasticon. Anglic. vol. II, p. 454.* Stephens, from Brown Willis.

(4) "Religionis et hospitalitatis normam pulchrè inchoatam delineavit (Godefridus prior) in monachos, qui hodiè in utrisque Godefridi ita formam sectantur, ut aut nihil aut parum eis desit ad laudis cumuluni. Denique est in ea domo (S. Swithuni) hospitum terra marique venientium, quantum libuerit diversorium, sumptu indificiente, charitate indefatigatâ. Will. Malm. De Pontif. l. II.

Whoever considers the extent of building necessary to practise hospitality on this extensive scale, will readily believe what is otherwise credible, that there was a second quadrangle of equal extent with that of the cloisters; one wing of which stretched out from the south side of the refectory, whilst the other joined the hall of the priory. This was probably for the guests of higher rank, whilst the poorer sort were lodged in buildings to the eastward. Upon an examination of the dean's stables and hay-lofts situated in that part, we find them to have been constructed in the nature of the ancient eating-halls; and it is probable that this building answered that purpose for the poor sort of guests who were entertained at St. Swithun's priory.

We cannot quit this scene, so interesting to a Christian antiquary, without giving a more distinct account of the manner of life heretofore practised in it. Not to enter into the controversy concerning the rise of the monastic institution; (1) certain it is that it began to spread itself abroad, in the western as well as in the eastern church, soon after the legal establishment of Christianity throughout the Roman empire by Constantine the Great. We have indisputable proofs that this course of life was established in Britain, and even in Winchester, soon after that period. (2) Our Saxon ancestors received it with the seeds of Christianity; their first apostles being, in general, monks of that more regular and organized institute, of which St. Benedict was the founder. The objects of this course of life may be learned from the rule of that saint; namely, to withdraw as much as possible from dangerous temptations, also to learn and practise the gospel lessons in their original strictness and perfection. Its primary and essential obligations were, to have all things in common with their brethren, no person being allowed to possess any property as his own; to observe perpetual chastity; and to live in obedience to their religious superiors. It will be supposed that prayer occupied a great part of their

(1) See this discussed at full length in the Preliminary Discourse to vol. 11, to Stephens's *Monasticon*.

(2) See vol. 1, p. 56.

time. In the following account, however, of the œconomy of a monastic life, it is to be observed, that the spiritual exercises, called the canonical hours, were, with some variations as to the times of performing them, equally incumbent on secular canons and the clergy in general, as on the monks. The time of the monks rising was different, according to the different seasons of the year, and the festivals that were solemnized; (1) but the more common time appears to have been about the half hour after one in the morning, so as to be ready in the choir to begin the night office, called *Nocturnæ Vigiliæ*, by two. (2) When these consisted of three nocturns, or were otherwise longer, the monks of course rose much earlier. In later ages, the whole of this office, and that of the *Matutinæ Laudes* (3) were performed together; and took up, in the singing of them, about two hours. There was now an interval of an hour, during which the monks were at liberty in some convents, (for this was far from being the case in all) again to repose for a short time on their couches; (4) but great numbers every where spent this time in private prayer. At five began the service called Prime; at the conclusion of which the community went in procession to the chapter-house, to attend to the instructions and exhortations, which we have spoken of above. The chapter being finished, they proceeded again to the church, to assist at the early, or what was called the Capitular Mass. (5) This being finished, there was a space of an hour, or an hour and a half, which was employed in manual labour or in study. At eight they again met in the choir to perform the office called Terce, or the third hour, which was followed by the high mass; and

(1) Regul. S. Bened. c. viii, &c.

(2) Dom. Mege.

(3) It appears very clear by the rule of St. Bennet, c. xvi, and by the commentators on it, that the office of the night or *Nocturnæ Vigiliæ* was a distinct office from the *Matutinæ Laudes*; the latter being one of the seven offices of the day.—“Officium quod olim dicebatur *Matutinum*, hodie *Laudes* vocatur.” Van Espen. De Horis Can. part ii, c. iii.—“Quamvis seculares jungant vigiliis matutinis laudibus & abusivè utranque appellant matutinas; tamen sunt distinctæ horæ & divisim a monachis per orationes terminantur.” Radulph. Tung. ibid.

(4) Statut. S. Dunstan & Lanfrank.

(5) Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. iii. c. vi.

that again by the Sext, or the office of the sixth hour. These services lasted until near ten o'clock, (1) at which time, in later ages, when it was not a fasting day, the community proceeded to the refectory to dine. They returned after dinner processionally to the church, in order to finish their solemn grace. There was now a vacant space of an hour or an hour and an half; during part of which, those who were fatigued were at liberty to take their repose, (2) according to the custom in hot countries; which was called from the time of day when it was taken, *The Meridian*. Others employed this time in walking and conversing, except on those days when a general silence was enjoined. At one o'clock, None, or the ninth hour was sung in the choir, as were Vespers at three. At five they met in the refectory, to partake of a slender supper, consisting chiefly, both as to victuals and drink, of what was saved out of the meal at noon; (3) except on fasting days, when nothing, or next to nothing, was allowed to be taken. The intermediate spaces were occupied with spiritual reading, or studying; or with manual labour, which frequently consisted in transcribing books. After the evening refection, a spiritual conference or collation was held, until the office called Complin began, which, with certain other exercises of devotion, lasted until seven o'clock; when all retired to their respective dormitories, which were long galleries containing as many beds as could be ranged in them, separated from each other by thin boards or curtains. On these the monks took their rest, without taking off any part of their clothes. (4)

It is presumed that those persons who with candour examine this sketch of a monastic life, will confess that at least the accusation of laziness, which

(1) This is known to have been the general practice of our convents, but by the strict rule the proper time of dining was twelve o'clock on common days, three on fasting days, and four or five in Lent. C. XLI.

(2) Reg. c. LVIII.

(3) Meridianam suam solitus erat (Willelmus Giffard episcopus) facere cum monachis in illorum dormitorio." Annal. Wint. an. 1128.

(4) Reg. cap. XXXIX. cap. XXII.

has so often been brought against the professors of it, is unfounded. The question whether it is or is not an unprofitable course of life, depends upon the solution of two other questions. 1st, What is the end of man's creation? 2dly, What are the means pointed out by revelation for answering this end? But to wave these points, and to avoid every invidious comparison between the lives of the ancient monks, and of those, who having succeeded to their wealth, revile their memories; let us see in the mere point of general utility, what benefits were actually conferred on society by the above-mentioned class of men. 1. They converted to Christianity this and many other Christian nations. (1) 2. They thereby reclaimed our ancestors from a barbarous and savage way of living; and their monasteries were, for a great number of ages, the only schools of literature and of the liberal arts. 3. Before printing was invented, they were continually employed in transcribing, with the labour of their own hands, the perishing copies of the holy scriptures, the classical authors, and the histories and records of past times in general: without the use of which, so far from attaining to that superior knowledge, which we vainly ascribe to ourselves, we should inevitably have relapsed back again into absolute barbarism. In a word, the monasteries, besides paying their quota to the state, supported the whole body of the poor; every where kept open, gratis, schools for the education of youth, and hospitals for the reception of the sick and infirm. They also let their lands upon such easy terms, and were otherwise so indulgent and beneficent to their tenants, that towns and cities almost every where grew up round their convents. (2)

(1) Germany, Franconia, Friezland, Saxony, Sweedland, Denmark, Gothland, Hangary, Lithuania, Russia, Poland, Pomerania, &c. See *Monasticon*, vol. II.

(2) Since the first edition of this History, a work in two volumes octavo has appeared, under the title of *British Monachism, or Manners and Customs of the Monks and Nuns of England*, by T. Dudley Fosbrook, M.A., F.S.A. The object of this publication is signified in the preface, where the author claims "merit for having contributed to check the spirit of Monachism and Popery; which," he says, "was rising up in the nation;" as likewise in the approbation of this performance, and the recommendation of it to students and fellows of colleges, by the Rev. Dr. Fisher, Deputy High Steward of Cambridge.

But to return to our priory of St. Swithun, we shall finish this chapter with an account of those monks belonging to it, who in different ages have

The work itself consists, first of an incoherent mass of religious rules and customs, belonging to monasteries of different orders, different times, and different parts of the world, all jumbled together; which are, for the most part, highly edifying in themselves, but which the writer has frequently misrepresented, partly from ignorance and partly from malice. I shall select one amongst numerous other instances of his ignorance; where, stumbling as it were over a straw, he calls for an *Œdipus* to explain what every schoolboy is acquainted with. He says in his text, by way of charge against the monks: "The sabbath was the general cleaning day; oiling of shoes, washing of clothes, &c." He then adds in the notes: "The sabbath seems to be used both for Saturday and Sunday. There is a service for *Sabbato Sancto*, and another for *Die Sancto Paschæ*. Yet I would not positively say that both these services do not relate to the same day. *Solvat Œdipus!*" vol. 1, p. 36. The fact is, that *sabbatum*, the sabbath, is uniformly and exclusively used, in its original and proper sense, for the seventh day of the week, or the Saturday, in every ancient rule, liturgy, and calendar, whether monastic or clerical: whereas the first day of the week, or Sunday, is uniformly called *Dies Dominica*, or the Lord's Day; except that, out of respect to the two great festivals, Easter Day and Whit Sunday, the one is usually called *Dies Paschæ*, the other *Dies Pentecostes*. Thus it appears, without the help of an *Œdipus*, that the monks cleaned themselves, and oiled their shoes, not on the Sunday, but on the Saturday, and that they had distinct services, *Pro Sabbato Sancto*, Easter Eve; and *Pro Die Sancto Paschæ*, Easter Sunday. The writer's ignorance is the more inexcusable, as the Church of England, in her Common Prayer Book and Canons, follows the same rule in calling the first day of the week Sunday, or the Lord's Day, never the Sabbath Day. Only vulgar and ignorant people use the latter name for Sunday.

With this confused mass of monastic rules and customs, is mixed up a due proportion of the reports of those commissioners, who were employed by the last vicar-general in spirituals, lord Cromwell, to visit the monasteries, for the express purpose of finding pretexts to dissolve them. What vile arts and open injustice these mercenary and unprincipled agents were guilty of in the execution of their commission, Dugdale, Stephens, Heylin, Collier, and several other Protestant authors of reputation, have informed us. All that I need say on the subject, is to ask whether it would be fair to judge of the established bishops, clergy, and universities of the reign of Charles I. from the reports and speeches of the commissioners, visitors, and other partisans of the Long Parliament, at a time when the latter was bent upon their destruction?

I may argue in the same manner, with respect to the remaining materials of Mr. Fosbrook's volumes, which consist of professed satires, ballads, or other libels against religious persons; together with a large portion of unsupported and groundless calumny. If such

been distinguished by their learning, merits, or rank in life, as far as we have been able to trace them; and also with a list of cathedral priors, down to the suppression of the monastery.

To omit Constans, the monk of our cathedral, who was exalted to the imperial purple in the fifth century, whilst this was a British city; and to begin our account from the conversion of our Saxon ancestors in the seventh century; we must certainly reckon, as belonging to the present monastery, St. Birinus, who was in fact the founder of it. His successor, next after Agilbert, we are assured, was also a member of it; but whether in quality of monk or regular canon, must be determined by what has been said before. (1) He was a person of distinguished eloquence and learning, who though guilty of great faults, yet lived to repent of them; returning for this purpose to the monastery, in which he had spent his youth. (2)

In the eighth century was St. Hedda, the fourth bishop of this see, whom some authors describe as having previously been a member of this community. (3) He was author of certain books or letters addressed to the learned St. Aldhelm, and to other bishops; which Malmesbury, who had seen them, allowed to have considerable merit as compositions. In the same age Helmstad was superior of this convent, before he was bishop of the see.

In the ninth century we have Ethelwulph, who was a member of this religious community, and even in the first stage of holy orders, when he was forced to quit his solitude, in order to take upon himself the kingly office: as likewise the great St. Swithun, who, like his predecessor, was prior or superior here before he became bishop.

In the tenth century we find the learned Lamfrid, called, by excellency,

evidence as this were admitted against the established church at the present day, who would insure it from meeting with the fate of the monasteries?

(1) Vol. i, p. 162.

(2) Viz. Wina.

(3) Pitsius, De Script. Ecc.

The Doctor; who wrote the history of our church and monastery, and the life and miracles of St. Swithun: also St. Oswald, who was dean of the secular canons, established here after the martyrdom of the monks or regular canons by the Danes, and afterwards bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York: Brithnoth, the first Benedictine prior, who became abbot of Ely; and Brithwold, his successor, who was afterwards raised to the episcopal throne of this city.

In the eleventh century, the Benedictine order being established here, many of the monks became illustrious for their merits and stations. Amongst these were two of our own bishops, Kenulph and Alwin; also Alfric and Aldred, who were successively promoted to the see of York; Livingus, who became archbishop of Canterbury; Alfwold, bishop of Sherborne; Simeon, brother to Walkelin, who was made abbot of Peterborough; and likewise Wolstan, who was cantor of the cathedral and a famous poet.

In the twelfth century the most distinguished monks of this convent were, Godfrey, the learned and zealous prior who is so highly extolled by Malmsbury; Malchus, who was consecrated to the see of Dublin; prior Walter, who was translated to Westminster, of which he became the first mitred abbot; prior Robert, who was removed to the abbacy of Glassenbury; the two latter left valuable histories relating to this cathedral, which are cited by Rudborne; Geroald, the first abbot of Tewksbury, who returned to St. Swithun's, and there ended his days. At the beginning of the same century, the bishop of the see, William Gyffard, a man of great talents and experience, took up the habit and exercises of a monk in his own cathedral, without however resigning his mitre; and about the middle of it St. William, archbishop of York, resided for a considerable time at St. Swithun's, conforming to all the religious practices of the convent.

In the thirteenth century we meet with Richard of Devizes, a monk of St. Swithun's, who was no less famous for his learning than for his piety. He left behind him certain works relating to the history of this country. At

the conclusion of it, Henry Woodlock governed the monastery, who was afterwards raised to the episcopal throne.

In the fourteenth century mention is made of a very learned monk of this priory, by name Adam; whom the monks elected bishop, in opposition to the royal nomination. In the same century, John le Devenish, a relation to the founder of St. John's House, was a monk here; who being chosen for his merit to fill the episcopal chair, and being obliged to yield that station to Edington, was made abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury.

In the fifteenth century occur the two monastic historians of our priory, to whom we have such infinite obligations for our information concerning the early state of the city and the cathedral—Thomas Rudborne, and the anonymous author of the *Annales Wintonienses*.

Finally, in the sixteenth century, previously to the dissolution of the convent, prior Silkstede was not only distinguished for his skill in architecture and zeal for the spiritual and temporal benefit of his convent; but also for his learning, of which he left proof in certain writings, relating to his own profession, which were committed to the press.

*Priors (1) of the Old Monastery, or Cathedral Priory of
Winchester.*

We know very little concerning the superiors, by whatever names they were called, who governed the cathedral monastery during the time of its two first establishments; and even during that of the third, down to the

(1) The reason why this ancient monastery was governed by a conventual superior called a *prior*, instead of an *abbot*, which was a higher title, and why of course it was termed *the priory*, not the *abbey* of St. Swithun, was because it was attached to a cathedral; in consequence of which the bishop was its chief superior and abbot, and as such represented it in Parliament.—N.B. In this catalogue we have followed Brown Willis and Stephens, in preference to Henry Wharton and Gale; the account of the two former being much more circumstantial and accurate than that of the two latter.

time when St. Ethelwold and king Edgar reformed it and filled it with Benedictine monks from Abingdon. The only particulars which we have been enabled to collect on this subject are, that at the first foundation of the see by king Lucius, one Dinotus, or Devotus, governed the cathedral clergy under the bishop, with the title of abbot; that Deodatus was their superior when the cathedral was rebuilt in the reign of Constantine the Great, at which time there is reason to suppose it was served by monks, properly so called; that Helmstan and St. Swithun were the præpositi, or priors of it, in the reigns of Egbert and Ethelwolphi, when it seems to have been a priory of regular canons; and lastly, that St. Oswald was dean of it during a part of the time that it was inhabited by secular canons, about the middle of the tenth century; until, disgusted with their manners, he left them to become a monk.

1. It is then from the year 963 that the history of our priors(1) properly begins; in which Brithnoth, who had been fellow monk with St. Ethelwold at Abingdon, and probably also at Glassenbury, was appointed by him to govern the new establishment of the cathedral monastery. He held this office seven years, when, upon a similar reform being established in the monastery of Ely, by the same saint, he was made abbot of it.

2. To Brithnoth, in the year 970, succeeded Brithwold, otherwise called Ethelwold; who seems to have been promoted from the rank of prior of the cathedral to that of bishop in the year 1006.

3. Alfric was the third prior; who, in 1023, was raised to the archiepiscopal see of York.

4. The next prior upon record is Wulfsig; though it is supposed that one or two others must have governed the monastery between him and Alfric, as he did not die until 1065.

5. Upon the decease of Wulfsig, a Norman monk was appointed superior, namely, Simeon, brother of Walkelin; who having reformed this monastery, governed it until the year 1080, when he was promoted to the abbaey of Ely.

6. The monastery was next governed by the most celebrated of all its priors for literature, as well as for piety and religious discipline: namely, Godfrey,

(1) Ang. Sac. vol. i. Success. Prior.

a native of Cambray, but one who had been educated in this priory of St. Swithun. He died in 1107.

7. Geoffry I. held the office of prior four years, when in 1111 he was deposed by bishop William Giffard. This measure will not be considered as very extraordinary or disgraceful to the deposed, when we are informed that the bishop himself was at this time invested with the efficient power, as well as with the dignity of abbot, in consequence of which he created or deposed the prior at his own discretion.

8. To Geoffry I. succeeded Geoffry II. who had before been cellarer, as it is called, or steward of the convent, which he governed only three years, being in 1114 elected abbot of Burton. He was distinguished for his literature, and left certain works behind him. It is a proof of the high character which our cathedral priory bore for learning and regular discipline, that the first seven abbots of Burton had all of them been monks of St. Swithun. (1)

9. Eustachius governed the priory six years, dying in 1120.

10. The precise year of prior Hugh's death cannot be discovered.

11. Geoffry III. died in 1126.

12. Ingulphus, the twelfth prior, was elected abbot of Abingdon in 1130.

13. Robert I. was chosen bishop of Bath and Wells in 1136.

14. Robert II. a man described to be "accomplished in all virtues, and a special lover of the poor," (2) governed St. Swithun's until 1171, when he became abbot of Glassenbury. He is also mentioned as one of the writers of this community.

15. The succeeding prior Walter, was also the author of certain works (3) relating to the history of the cathedral, which seem to have existed in the conventual library until the general destruction of such libraries in the reign of Henry VIII. In 1175 he was translated to Westminster, of which he became the first abbot who was honoured with the mitre. The frequent translations of the superiors of this priory to other monasteries, form a strong presumption in favour of its regularity and strict discipline.

16. Prior John died in 1187.

17. The latter was succeeded in the same year by Robert III. surnamed Fitzhenry, who in 1214 became abbot of Burton.

(1) Stephens's Monast. vol. II, p. 212.

(2) Rudborne, Hist. Maj.

(3) Warton.

18. Roger, a native of Normandy, was the next prior, the time of whose death is not known.

19. Walter II. died in 1239.

20. Andrew, a Welchman, was now thrust into office by the king, in order to influence the monks in the election of his half-brother William of Valentia, to the episcopal throne.

21. Walter III. having been uncanonically chosen, was deposed by bishop William de Raley in 1247.

22. John II. or de Calceto, is described to have been "a religious, more in habit than in manners," (1) having sided with the king in the unjust persecution of the above-mentioned prelate. As a reward for this courtly behaviour, he was promoted to the abbacy of Peterborough in 1249.

23. William de Taunton seems to have been a worthy superior, but met with great opposition in his government. In 1256 he was translated to the abbey of Middleton, or Milton, in Dorsetshire, after having obtained the right of the mitre and crosier for the priory of St. Swithun; (2) which was a rare privilege for a prior, and such as seemed to trench on the rights of the bishop. In 1261 our monks endeavoured to bring him back once more amongst them, by choosing him for their bishop. This election, however, the pope refused to confirm.

24. Andrew II. surnamed of London, was of the same character with the former prior of his name. He was a creature of the unworthy prelate Ethelmar, and in the end was deposed and imprisoned in Hyde Abbey by the succeeding bishop John de Gervayse. (3)

25. Ralph Russel was next elected, in whose time the popular tumults happened, which occasioned the destruction of part of the monastery, and the death of some of its servants. (4) He died the year after this event, viz. in 1265.

26. Valentine filled the office of prior till 1276.

27. John III. or de Dureville, a Norman by birth, but a monk of this house, was prior for two years.

28. Adam de Farnham next governed the priory; who refusing to permit

(1) Mat. Paris.

(2) Annal. Wint.

(3) Annal. Wint.

(4) Annal. Wint. & Wigorn.

Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, to visit his monastery, incurred the sentence of excommunication by so doing. He was absolved, however, upon his submission, and died in peace in 1284.

29. William II. surnamed de Basyng, next came into office, which he held only for a few months, when he was succeeded by

30. William III. surnamed in like manner de Basyng, who died in 1295. The remarkable stone coffin and epitaph, which we noticed in the south transept of the cathedral, belonged to one of these priors, probably to the latter.

31. Henry Woodlock, or de Marwell, from the rank of prior was raised to that of bishop of this see in 1305. In this capacity he placed the crown on the head of Edward II. the archbishop of Canterbury being then in exile.

32. Nicholas de Tarente vacated his priory by death in 1309.

33. Richard de Enford, the next superior, was alive in 1325, but the exact time of his death does not appear.

34. Alexander Heriard yielded to fate in 1349.

35. John III. or de Merlow, governed the community until 1361; when

36. William IV. surnamed Thudden, was chosen to succeed him, but the bishop invalidated the election, because it was made without his participation.

37. Hugh II. or de Basyng, was voted in his place, by the forty-two monks of which the convent then subsisted, (1) and governed it twenty-three years, dying in 1384; when

38. Robert IV. or de Rudborne, D. D. was confirmed prior, who died in 1394.

39. Thomas Nevyle, S. T. P. succeeded in the same year. In his time the priory was visited by the metropolitan, to which measure no opposition appears now to have been made. About this time the number of the monks was still forty-two.

40. Thomas II. or Shyrborne, next wielded the prior's crosier, but the dates of his election and death have not been discovered.

41. William V. or Aulton, departed this life in 1450; when

42. Richard II. or Marlborough, who had been cellarer, succeeded him. He died in 1457.

43. Robert V. or Westgate, presided from the said year until 1470.

44. Thomas III. or Hunton, next held the office during the space of 28 years.

(1) Lowth, Life of W. W. p. 69. Ex Regist.

45. In 1498 Thomas III. or Silkstede, whose decorations of the church have been so often mentioned, worthily filled the office of prior. In his time a visitation of the monastery having been held, it was found that the number of monks amounted to 35, and their revenues to 1000*l.* per annum. He resigned his office, together with his life, in 1524.

46. Henry II. or Brook, S.T.P. who succeeded the last mentioned, was certainly alive in 1535, but the precise year of his death is not recorded.

47. The last in this long succession of superiors was William VI. or Kingsmell, otherwise called de Basyng, who, "partly through fear and partly through covetousness, being severely threatened on one hand, and inveigled with fair promises on the other," (1) gave up this venerable and primæval monastery to be dissolved by the sacrilegious Henry, and to complete his guilt, signed a solemn declaration that he and the monks had done this "of their own free will and voluntary mind, without constraint or compulsion," (2) as almost all the superiors of the great monasteries were likewise forced to do. (3)

We quit the inclosure of the monastery, now called the Close, by a lofty and firm gateway and doors of prodigious strength, which probably have remained there ever since the destruction of the former doors, which were burnt, with all the adjoining buildings on both sides of them, in the riots of 1264. From this gate we proceed by the east end of St. Swithun's-street, to what is called King's-gate. Leland brings sufficient arguments to prove that this was anciently called St. Michael's-gate. (4) But a later writer, who, however, is of no credit when unsupported by authorities, says that king John first opened the present gate, removing for that purpose the parish church of St. Swithun, which before stood on the ground, to its present situation over the gate; intimating thereby that it obtained its name of King's-gate from this circumstance. (5) So far is certain, that the gate existed, under the same name that it bears at present, and that the church of St. Swithun stood over it, at the time of the aforesaid riots;

(1) Stephens, vol. II, p. 222.

(2) 31 Hen. VIII, c. XIII.

(3) See vol. I, p. 331.

(4) Itinerary, vol. III, p. 101.

(5) The Anonymous Historian, vol. I, p. 208.

when they were involved in the conflagration which then took place. (1) This church was evidently built for the parish church of the numerous servants and artificers of the priory of St. Swithun, to whom it was dedicated, as being dependant on the priory; for the cathedral itself could not have been made subservient to the conveniency of that class of people, in the use of the sacraments and other ecclesiastical rites, without great confusion and interruption of the choir service. Before we proceed farther, it is proper to remark that there are here three of those Druidical stones mentioned in our first volume; (2) though probably much reduced from their original size: one at the entrance of the close gate, another at the bottom of the steps leading up to St. Swithun's parish church, and a third as a foundation-stone under the south-east pier of King's-gate.

Having turned to the left, down College-street, we behold in the range of houses on the south side of it, (3) the site of the ancient *Sustern Spytal*, or Sister's Hospital, so called because it was served by Nuns; who, according to the nature of their institute, and the tenor of their vows, were obliged constantly to attend sick persons; whom they received into their hospital, or attended at their own houses, in addition to the ordinary duties of a conventual life. It is difficult to conceive a more humbling, painful, or perilous employment than this must have been; yet heretofore there was always found a sufficient number of females, in decent circumstances and in the bloom of youth, who were ready to devote their lives to it. It does not appear that this establishment was endowed with any landed property for its support; but it was maintained by the monks of the

(1) "An. 1264, 4mo. non. Maii Wintonienses contra priorem & conventum S. Swithuni insurrexerunt, & portam prioratûs & portam quæ vocatur Kingate cum ecclesiâ S. Swithuni supra, & universis ædificiis & redditibus prioris & conventûs prope murum combusserunt." *Annal. Wint.*—This is the passage, as we have mentioned in our preface, which being wrongly applied by Gale to the cathedral church of St. Swithun, has so much perplexed and misled him. See Preface to the History and Antiquities of the Cathedral.

(2) P. 9.

(3) MSS.

cathedral, (1) and the donations of the charitable. (2) This most humane and beneficial institution was amongst the first which fell a sacrifice to the insatiable avarice of Henry VIII. as Leland upon his arrival at Winchester found it suppressed.

(1) "Ther was an hospitale for poore folkes a very little without the Kinges gate maynteynid by the monkes of S. Swithunes now suppressid." Leland. Itin. vol. iii, p. 100.

(2) It is mentioned by Wykeham in his will in the following terms:—"Item lego sororibus hospitalis elemosynarii ecclesiæ meæ S. Swithuni 40 solidos inter ipsas equaliter dividendos, ad orandum pro animâ meâ."

CHAP. V.

Antiquity and Situation of the ancient Grammar School of Winchester.—Foundation of the present College by Wykeham.—Mysterious Number of its several Members.—General Sketch of its History.—Description of the College.—The first Tower and Court.—The middle Tower and second Court.—Outside View of the Chapel and Hall.—Inside View of the Chapel.—Its Beauties and its Defects.—Ancient Epitaphs on the Pavement.—The Cloisters of the College.—The Chantry in its Area, now the Library.—The Refectory.—The School Room, with its Decorations.—Illustrious Members of the College.—List of its Wardens.—The Song of Dulce Domum.

IT has been already observed, (1) that a temple of Apollo, the deity of literature, stood near the site of the present college, when this first part of Britain entered into the list of civilized provinces. (2) But to pass on to the Christian period. There is reason to believe that soon after the conversion of our ancestors, a school of learning was opened by the cathedral clergy, for the benefit of the public, near their monastery. It is plain that Helmstad and St. Swithun, priors of this convent in the eighth and ninth centuries, must have been in high repute for their learning and skill in instructing youth; by the choice which Egbert made of them to educate his son Ethelwolph. (3) St. Swithun was afterwards pitched upon by

(1) Vol. i, p. 27.

(2) "Situs monasterii (namely, that built by king Lucius) ex parte orientali ecclesiæ erat 100 passuum in longitudine versus vetus templi Concordiæ & 400 passuum in latitudine versus novum templum Apollinis, &c." Rudb. Hist. Maj. i. i, c. vi.

(3) "Successit venerabilis Helinstanus ex monasterio Wyntoniensi, cui rex Egbertus Anglorum monarcha primum suum commendavit Athulphum nutriendum. Commendavit Helinstanus Athulphum S. Swithuno, tunc præposito Wyntoniensis ecclesiæ." Rudb. Hist.

Ethelwolph himself, to instil the first principles of learning into the mind of the immortal Alfred. (1) It seems probable that Ethelward, a son of the last mentioned, who, despising the pomp of state, gave himself up to a studious life, received his first instructions at the cathedral school of Winchester; before his father founded the university of Oxford, and the learned convent of St. Grimbald in this city. St. Ethelwold also, who was a native of our city, seems to have found the means of instruction at home in the tenth century, before he removed to the abbey of Glassenbury. In the age succeeding the Conquest, we have positive proof of there being a large grammar school at Winchester; as the first founder of St. Cross, Henry de Blois, in the constitutions which he drew up for it, directed that thirteen of the poorer sort of scholars, belonging to this school, should receive their daily victuals from that foundation. (2) In a word, Wykeham himself, in his early youth, resided at Winchester, for the benefit of frequenting the school established there; which school being known to have then existed on the very spot where the college now stands, (3) there is reason to suppose it to be the same which we have proved to have existed in this city, at periods much more remote, under the patronage of the bishop, and the direction of the cathedral monastery.

Ever since the year 1373, bishop Wykeham had taken this school into his own hands; paying the salary of the master whom he had chosen to manage it, by name Richard de Herton, (4) and providing the scholars with lodging and boarding in different houses in St. John's parish. (5) But in March 1387, this great and beneficent prelate, having just completed

Maj. l. III, c. i.—“ Commendavit S. Swithuno rex Egbertus filium suum Adulphum liberalibus disciplinis erudiendum & sanctis moribus instruendum.” Gotzelin in Vit. S. Swith. ap. Surium.

(1) “ Alfredus in infantilibus agens annis, S. Swithuno Wyntoniensi episcopo traditus erat erudiendus; nam idem præsul egregius quondam nutritus erat Athulphi patris sui.” Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. III, c. vi.

(2) Lowth's Life of Wykeham, p. 76.

(3) MS. Coll. Wint. quoted by Lowth, p. 190.

(4) Ibid. p. 94, and Append. vii.

(5) Ibid. p. 191, also Append. x.

his college at Oxford, for the benefit of his diocese, began the foundation of the college in this city, to serve as a seminary and nursery for the former. The site of it he purchased of the prior and convent of the cathedral, consisting of "two medes, called Dumer's mede and Otterbourne mede, lying between the Sustern Spytal and the gardens and closes of Kyngsgate-strete on the west; and the gardens and closes of the Carmelite friars on the south; and a certain house of the said prior and convent, called La Carité to the east. (1) In the course of six years this great work was finished; when, on the 28th of March, 1393, John Morys, who had been the same day appointed warden, (2) and with him the rest of the society, "made their solemn entrance into the college, chanting in procession." (3) The different sovereigns granted many charters for the security and aggrandizement of this establishment; and the popes issued many bulls for its protection and its exemption from the usual restrictions of the canon law. Amongst other privileges of this sort, were those of having all the sacraments and sacramentalia, as they are called, administered in the college chapel; of being allowed to erect a belfry, with bells over it; and of its members being permitted to receive ordination from any bishop, to whom they might present themselves. (4) Lowth and most other writers who speak of the college mention the number and respective degrees of its members; (5) but none of them, since Harpsfield, seem to have been aware of the mysterious meaning of these determinate numbers and qualities. We may venture then to say, after the hint of this author, (6) who was himself a distinguished Wykehamist at the beginning of the 16th century, that the warden and ten priests, who were perpetual fellows, represented

(1) MSS.

(2) Ibid..

(3) Lowth, p. 191.

(4) MSS..

(5) "The whole society consists of a warden; 70 poor scholars, to be instructed in grammatical learning; 10 secular priests, perpetual fellows; three priests chaplains; three clerks, and 16 choristers; and for the instruction of the scholars, a schoolmaster and an under master." Stat. Coll. Wint. Lowth, Life of W. W. p. 192.

(6) "Tam Wintoniæ quam Oxonii ille numerus conspicitur, qui sacrum 70 discipulorum numerum conficit." Harpsfield, Hist. Ecc. Anglic. Ed. Duac. p. 553.

the college of the apostles, Judas Iscariot of course not being represented: that the head master and second master, with 70 scholars, denoted the 72 disciples: (1) that the three chaplains and three inferior clerks marked the six faithful deacons; Nicholas, one of that number, having apostatized, has therefore no representative: finally, that the 16 choristers represented the four greater and the 12 minor prophets.

This learned establishment, the parent of Eton and the model of Westminster, has escaped, in a providential manner, the ravages of war and riot, and the more dangerous grasp of sacrilegious avarice, to which it has been frequently exposed. During the first century of its existence, numerous revolutions and popular commotions took place, as we have shewn, (2) which to the college bore a more threatening aspect; inasmuch as its superiors and special patrons were always found on the side of social order and of the established government, which cause we have seen was far from being always triumphant. In the course of the second hundred years from its foundation, it was at different times in imminent danger of destruction, from the insatiable rapacity of the courtiers in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. which swallowed up so many other foundations of a similar nature; and, among the rest, one which joined to it. (3) This danger was so great and imminent, that during the space of two years a statute of dissolution was in full force against it, (4) and it existed only by the precarious pleasure of a tyrannical prince. At length, however, when a fresh act was obtained by the courtiers of Edward, confirming that of Henry, for dissolving colleges, hospitals, &c. this establishment, together with the colleges of the two universities and of Eton, was favoured with a special exception. (5) It is probable, however, that this was not obtained without sacrificing the church plate, the gift of so many prelates and princes, and

(1) St. Luke, c. x.—N. B. The reading of the vulgate, which the founder of course followed, has 72 disciples; that of the Greek text, which is followed in the English Bible, has only 70 disciples.

(2) Vol. i, c. xi.

(3) St. Elizabeth's College, which will be mentioned below.

(4) 37 Hen. VIII, c. iv.

(5) 1 Edw. VI.

particularly the magnificent ornaments bestowed by its royal friend and admirer Henry VI. We must add, that to preserve itself in being, the college was under the necessity of adopting the four different changes which took place in the religion of the state, during this period; (1) the last of which, on Elizabeth's mounting the throne, had the effect, as we have shewn, (2) of forcing some of its most distinguished ornaments to quit both the college and the kingdom. In the middle of the 17th century, the destruction of the college seemed inevitable, from the joint resentment and avarice of the presbyterian republicans; had not one of their leaders, who had also been a member of this learned body, mindful of the oath which he had taken in its favour, generously interposed and restrained the violence of his associates. (3) It must not, however, be overlooked, that parliamentary commissioners were appointed to visit this, in common with the universities and other colleges; and that the wardens and other members of it were obliged, for a considerable time, to conform to the presbyterian service and discipline.

We enter into the first court of the college by a spacious gateway, the canopy of which is supported by the mutilated busts of a king on one side, and a bishop on the other, evidently intended to represent the founder and his royal patron Edward III. In the centre of the groining, under the tower, are seen the arms of Wykeham; and in an ornamented nich on the outside of it, we behold a large statue of his patroness, the Blessed Virgin, crowned, with a sceptre in her right hand, and the divine infant in her left. How a statue of this nature, exposed in the open street, could have escaped the violence of the iconoclastic fanatics, both in the 16th and 17th

(1) These were—1. The religion of the six articles devised by Henry himself, being neither Catholic nor Protestant.—2dly, Zuinglianism, under the duke of Somerset, in Edward's reign.—3dly, The Catholic faith, restored by Mary—and 4thly, The 39 articles of queen Elizabeth.

(2) Vol. I, p. 367, 368.

(3) This person in all probability was either colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, admitted fellow of New College, in quality of founder's kin, or Nicholas Love, son of the warden of that name, another of the regicides, and one of the six clerks in chancery.

centuries, it is difficult to account for; especially as we see the evident marks of this fury in the mutilated mitre and crown of the two busts which are immediately beneath the statue. Perhaps it might have been concealed from view on these occasions, or possibly some ingenious tale might have been devised, to lead the ignorant barbarians into an opinion that this statue was intended for quite a different personage from her whom it actually represents. In the area of this court stands a modern house, built for the warden; which however neat and convenient, has the bad effect of intercepting the view of the ancient wing on the same side with it. The middle tower, over the gate leading into the interior court, is ornamented with three beautiful niches, having suitable canopies and pinnacles to adorn it. In the centre niche stands the statue of the Blessed Virgin, as large as life; with a book in the left hand, and the right elevated towards the figure of the angel Gabriel, which occupies the niche on the same side. The heavenly messenger appears to be pointing to a label inscribed with the words of the salutation, *Ave, gratia plena.* (1) The founder himself is represented in the third niche, with his mitre and other episcopal ornaments, invoking the prayers of his holy patroness. The very same figures are repeated in niches on the south side of this tower; whilst over the east end of the church is seen a statue of the Blessed Virgin, similar to that in front of the first tower, but under a much more gorgeous canopy. The reason why this figure so often occurs about Wykeham's college, is given by the learned prelate who has written his life, in the following passage:—"He, Wykeham, seems even in his childhood to have chosen the Blessed Virgin as his peculiar patroness, to have placed himself under her protection, and in a manner to have dedicated himself to her service; and probably he might ever after imagine himself indebted to her special favour for the various successes which he was blessed with through life. This seems to have been the reason of his dedicating his two colleges, and calling them by her name; over all the

(1) *Hail, full of grace.* St. Luke, c. i, v. 28.

principal gates of which he has been careful to have himself represented as her votary, in the act of adoration to the Blessed Virgin, as his and their common guardian.” (1)

Passing under the tower into the second court, every spectator must be struck with the elegant and uniform style of the ancient buildings with which it is surrounded. In particular, the magnificent chapel and hall, which form the south wing of the quadrangle, being supported by bold and ornamental buttresses, and enlightened by lofty and richly mullioned windows, bespeak the genius of Wykeham, and fill the mind with admiration and delight. Over the western extremity of the hall, corresponding with the above-mentioned statue of the Blessed Virgin, and under a similar canopy, is the figure of St. Michael, armed with a spear and shield, and transfixing the old dragon. A stately tower, with turrets and pinnacles at the four corners, stands near the centre of the south wing. It is built in the more ornamental style of the 15th century; not being the work of Wykeham himself, but of warden Thurbern. (2)

We now enter, by a vestibule ornamented with rich Gothic ceiling, into the chapel itself. Here we find that solemn gloom which is so favourable to devotion. This is in a great measure produced by “the dim religious light” which its storied windows diffuse. The great eastern window, containing the genealogy of our Saviour Christ, has been the subject of one of the most exquisite poems in our language. (3) The names and attributes of many of the royal personages there depicted, are easily discerned. There are also in the same window, some saints of the new law, particularly St. Peter and St. Paul. In the centre is the Crucifixion; and in the highest pannel of all, the Resurrection; which having been injured, has lately been restored by Mr. Cave, senior. The other windows are filled with the figures of saints of almost every description, kings, bishops, priests, abbots, and nuns; most of which, with a little study, and the help of a perspective

(1) Bishop Lowth's *Life of Wykeham*, p. 278, 279.

(2) Viz. in 1430, MS.

(3) By Bishop Lowth, published in a Miscellany called *The Union*.

glass, may still be ascertained, together with the following inscription: "*Orate pro anima Wilhelmi de Wykeham fundatoris istius collegii.*" (1) The awful effect of this chapel is also greatly owing to its loftiness and to the bold and magnificent style of its groining; resembling that which covers the sanctuary of the cathedral, but less encumbered with ornaments. A valuable acquisition to this chapel is the altar-piece, representing the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin, by Le Moine, being a present of the late head master, Dr. Burton, who purchased it abroad. A comparison of this with the altar-piece of the cathedral, will serve to illustrate and confirm the remarks we made in speaking of the latter. (2) The painter holds no very high name amongst foreign artists, yet we here see in the mother of Jesus, the true expression of humility, modesty, and devotion; whilst the saints of our modern Apelles, and the same may be said of the king of saints himself, have nothing in their countenances superior to what we may meet with in any common assembly at the present day.

We have spoken of the beauties of this chapel; let us now say a word of its defects. The recess on the south side of the ante-chapel, though originally made for a useful purpose, hurts the symmetry of the building. This was originally a separate chapel, built, together with the tower which stands over it, by warden Thurbern; whose device, as also the arms of the bishops Wykeham, Waynflete, and Beckington, appear on its vaulting. The windows in the side chapel, like those in the principal one, were adorned with curious paintings and inscriptions, which the learned Antony Wood copied in the 17th century. (3) We can have no doubt of the occasion of this addition being made to the original chapel; for though there were probably in the latter, besides the high altar, two side altars, where now the tribunes for the ladies stand; yet these must have been too few to accommodate the devotion of 16 or 18 priests, who were generally found in this community. In the second place, though the altar-piece of the college is so greatly superior to that of the cathedral, yet, in other respects, the altar itself falls much short of the former in dignity and decorations.

(1) *Pray for the soul of William of Wykeham, founder of this college.*

(2) See p. 39.

(3) The windows are now closed up, and the glass removed.

There was however a time when, through the munificence of its friends and benefactors, it almost vied with the cathedral itself in splendor and magnificence. We learn, in particular, that the pious and munificent Henry VI. bestowed upon it a tabernacle of gold, with a chalice and phials of the same metal; as also considerable sums of money, at different times, for its further decoration. (1) But perhaps the greatest defect of all in the present chapel has arisen from the injudicious attempt of a former warden to improve it. This was Dr. Nicholas; who, in the year 1681, (2) removed out of the choir the ancient stalls, with their canopies and spire work. The stalls are indeed now awkwardly ranged round what is called the Ante-chapel; but the spire-work, which we have reason to believe, from the taste of the founder, to have been exquisite in its kind, has quite disappeared, and is probably destroyed. Instead of these appropriate seats and decorations, Dr. Nicholas, the warden, placed ordinary benches and modern wainscoating, fitter for a hall than a choir. For the sake also of new paving the choir, he has removed the curious brasses, and other memorials of his predecessors and other illustrious members of the society, together with their epitaphs, from where their ashes lay before the high altar, into the ante-chapel; in which situation some of them are still visible. It is an advantage, however, that these were all copied by the indefatigable Wood, about the time of these innovations, which we may be sure excited all the bile of this stanch antiquary. We will transcribe from Warton's Description, who was in possession of Wood's manuscript, a few of the most interesting of these epitaphs. The following is that of the first warden of the college, as the words themselves imply:—

Hic jacet magister Johes Morys, primus custos istius collii, qui obiit die undecim millia virginum (3) anno dni millesimo ccccxiii et anno regni Henrici quinti primo, littera dominical a, cujus animae propitiatur Deus. (4)

(1) E Veter. Regist. Coll. Wint. apud Lowth, Apend. n. XIII.

(2) MSS. (3) The feast of St. Ursula and her companions, viz. Oct. 21. See her history, vol. 1, p. 53, note 5.

(4) *Here lies master John Morys, first warden of this college, who died on the festival*
S 2

The second commemorates his successor, the active and beneficent warden Thurbern:—

Custos Robertus Thurbern cognomine dictus
 En morior certus, cui non parcat necis istus.
 Spes mea, vera quies, bone Jesu, suscipe gratum
 Quem trecena dies rapit Octobris vere stratum.
 Anno milleno domini Et quater sociato
 Et quinquaginta morior, bone Christe, iuvato.
 Deprecor oreris pro me custode secundo,
 Discas lege pati, Custos, non credere mundo. (1)

There is also a large stone, inscribed with a very copious inscription in hexameter and pentameter verses, written by warden White for his own epitaph, as appears by the first lines of it:—

Hic tegor, hic, post fata, Whitus propono jacere
 Scriptor Joannes carminis ipse mei,
 Sin alibi fors est putrescere, qui meus esset
 Tunc patior tumultus fiat ut alterius, &c. (2)

It concludes

Nunc subeat lector, quia sancta est atque salubris
 Res pro defuncto fratre rogare Deum. (3)

When warden White wrote this epitaph in 1548 for himself, he was little conscious of the various fortunes which awaited him. He was in the

of the 11,000 virgins, in the year of our Lord 1413, and in the first year of the reign of king Henry V. the dominical letter being A, may God have mercy upon his soul.

(1) Behold I, warden Robert, surnamed Thurbern, die, being unable to escape the sure stroke of death. Thou who art my hope and true repose, merciful Jesus, receive me graciously, whose death happened this 30th of October, in the year of our Lord 1450. Merciful Christ, assist me. And do thou, my successor, pray for me, who was the second warden of this college, learning from me not to trust to the world.

(2) Here do I, John White, the writer of my own epitaph, propose to be buried. But if I should dissolve elsewhere, let this tomb belong to any one else, &c.

(3) Let the reader now undertake to pray for me, because it is a holy and a salutary thing to pray to God for a deceased brother.

same year turned out of his trust by the duke of Somerset, and committed to the tower. Being restored by queen Mary, he was, upon the death of bishop Gardiner, raised to the see of Winchester. He was a second time committed to the tower by queen Elizabeth, and being permitted to retire to his friends near Odiham, he died in obscurity, and was buried, by his own desire, in the cathedral; where, however, there is no inscription nor stone to record his memory. (1)

There are, in the same place, epitaphs upon warden Stemp, who died in 1581; upon John Bouke, third warden of New College, who died in 1441, and was buried here; upon John Bedell, mayor of Winchester, once a scholar of this college, who died in 1498; (2) as likewise upon the wardens Love, Cobb, &c. all which Warton has published. We shall, however, content ourselves with giving the elegant epitaph, composed by the regicide, Nicholas Love, upon his father, the warden of the same name; as breathing a spirit of piety, though tinged with Pagan mythology, and of veneration for the college and the old founder of it, which we should not expect from a writer of his character, and which give countenance to the conjecture that he might be the person who saved the establishment, when his party was triumphant in the great rebellion.

Hic positus est Nicholaus Love, S. T. D. Collegii ad Ventam Wiccamici primo informator postea custos. Docuit annos XI, præfuit XVII, ita ut ædibus hisce, providentia sua, statum optimum, dignitate honorem conciliaret. Eruditionis magnum testimonium accepit, quod Jacobo Regum doctissimo a sacris fuerit. Mira res potuisse in unum hominem coire molestiam cum fælicitate, gravitatem cum comitate, cum judicio ingenium, prudentiam cum eloquentia; ita ut omnia summa essent. Hæc, qui citra invidiam legis, abi fælix & collegio optuma quæque præcare; hoc est, custodes similes.

(1) See his history, vol. 1, p. 363, 366, &c.

(2) In Warton's Description, p. 41, this date is printed 1398. The errors of the press throughout this whole work, particularly in the present epitaphs, are exceedingly numerous and gross.

*At tu jam fœlix & diis conjunctor umbra,
Hunc tumulum, hos titulos & breve carmen habe.
At pudet, ut quæ homines virtuti reddimus hæc sint
Præmia: nil ultra Wickamus ipse tulit.*

Nic. Love, hæres patris B. M. moerens posuit. (1)

We proceed from the college chapel into the cloisters. These were not built by Wykeham himself, though they are proved by many dates on the walls to have been erected soon after his time. Indeed the obvious advantage of such porticos to an establishment such as this originally was, both for public processions and for private lectures, leaves us no doubt that the founder's intention was that they should be added to his building as soon as circumstances would permit. They are 132 feet square, with elegant Gothic mullions, and the rafters of the roof disposed in a neat circular form, which seems to argue that they were never intended to be vaulted. The pavement and adjoining walls, like the prophet's roll, are every where inscribed with *lamentation and mourning and woe*; (2) being chiefly the records of mortality in this learned society, during four centuries. The ancient use of this spot, as a burying place for the fellows and scholars, will appear from the dates of the following, amongst many other epitaphs, on brasses in the western cloister:—

(1) Here lies Nicholas Love, S. T. D. who was at first master and afterwards warden of Wykeham's college at Winchester. He taught in the college xi years, and governed it xvii, in such manner as, by his prudence, to secure its prosperity, and by his character to add to its dignity. It is no small proof of his learning, that he was chosen to be chaplain of that most learned of kings, James I. He was a rare example of severity, joined with good nature; of gravity, mixed with affability; of genius, guided by judgment, and of discretion, added to eloquence; all which qualities in him attained to their highest pitch. Thou who readest this without envy, go, be happy, and pray for all happiness to the college; that is to say, pray that it may be blessed with wardens like the deceased:

And do thou, O happy shade, who art now united to the Gods,

Receive this tomb, these praises, and this short verse.

Alas, we mortals may blush that these are the only

Reward we can pay to merit: since Wykeham himself receives from us nothing more.

Nicholas Love, the heir of his excellent father, with sorrow placed this stone.

(2) Ezech. c. ii, v. 10.

Hic jacet R. Dene Mag. in Art. et quondam informator scholarium hujus coll. qui ob. 28. D. Maii A.D. M,CCCLXXXIII, Cujus anime propitiatur Deus. (1)

Orate pro anima Willi Laus quondam socii istius colli, qui obiit die jovis in vigilia S. Georgii an. dni M,CCCCXVII cujus anime propitiatur Deus. (2)

Another ancient epitaph, upon a brass against the wall, in the same cloister, is an English verse, as follows:—

Edmund Hodson, Clerk and Fellow of this College, died the viii of August, 1580.

Who so thou art, with loving harte.

Grande, read, and think on me,

For as I was, so now thou art,

and as I am, so shalt thou be.

A great part of the brasses in these cloisters represent priests in their sacerdotal habits, and all the more ancient inscriptions conclude with prayers for the deceased. We shall content ourselves with transcribing one more of these epitaphs, as it alludes to a remarkable building, which we are going next to survey, and serves to confirm the date which we shall assign to its erection.

Orate pro anima Dni Willi Clyffe primi capellani istius capellae, qui obiit xxiii mensis Martii an. Dni. M,CCCCXXXIII, cujus anime propitiatur Deus. (3)

The chapel of which mention is made in this epitaph, stands before us, in the area of the cloisters. It was built by John Fromond, a man of great consideration, and a liberal benefactor to both Wykeham's colleges, in the year 1430, which seems to be also the date of the cloisters which surround

(1) Here lies R. Dene, M.A. and formerly teacher of the scholars of this college, who died 28 May, A.D. 1384, on whose soul may God have mercy.—N.B. These and the other inscriptions belonging to the college are copied from Warton.

(2) Pray for the soul of William Laus, once fellow of this college, who died on Thursday, being the vigil of St. George, in the year 1417. On whose soul may God have mercy.

(3) Pray for the soul of master William Clyffe, first chaplain of this chapel, who died March 24, 1434. Upon whose soul may God have mercy.

it. The use of the chapel was that of a chantry, where mass was daily performed for the dead by a priest who was endowed by Fromond for that purpose. (1) In the reign of Henry VIII. the appropriate funds of this chapel seem to have been seized upon for his use, (2) and the chapel remained void and neglected many years. It is an elegant Gothic building on the outside, as appears by the west end of it, which is represented in our plate of the College, and is in high preservation. As we enter into it we find in the wall, on the right hand, a certain cavity. This was made to contain the holy water, with which those who entered into such places of old, used to sprinkle themselves; amongst other ends, as a token of the purity of conscience, which they ought to bring with them to prayer. Having passed the door, we find ourselves, not in an empty chapel, but in an elegant well-furnished library; to which use it was converted in the year 1629. (3) The ceiling is groined, but in too heavy a style for the comparative height of it. The east window is filled with stained glass; consisting partly of that which originally belonged to it, and partly of some that was taken out of the windows of the side chapel, under the tower; (4) the whole being completed with plain pieces of modern stained glass. Here are many valuable works and certain rare curiosities; particularly an Ibis from Egypt, embalmed in the manner peculiar to that country.

Returning from the cloisters, the same way by which we went to them, the Refectory or Eating-hall presents itself next to our survey. To this we ascend by a flight of stairs, at the south-west corner of the second court. But first we must attend to a subject which is highly illustrative of the customs of ancient communities. We speak of the Lavatory, at the bottom of the stairs; being in the same relative situation as that in which a similar

(1) MSS.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Warton says, *Description, &c.* p. 50, that this chapel was converted into a library by warden Pink, Anno Dom. 1629. This is an unpardonable error in a Wykehamist, who ought to have remembered that there never was a warden of that name at Winchester, though there was such a one at Oxford.

(4) This appears by Wood's account of these windows, Warton's *Description*, p. 40.

one stood in our cathedral priory, and indeed in all ancient convents. The present cistern, and the porch under which it stands, being in a kind of rude Ionic architecture, on the pediment of which are the arms and the motto of the founder, copied in our plate, appear to be of the age of Elizabeth: but there can be no doubt that this cistern has been substituted for one more ancient, which was probably worn out; as we see the arch to receive it formed part of the original plan of the edifice. The refectory itself is 63 feet long, and 33 broad. It is also exceedingly lofty, the height of it not being reduced by vaulting; which, if it existed, would serve to confine the effluvia of the provisions served up at table. On the contrary, to keep the atmosphere of the hall as sweet as possible, by a circulation of air, the middle of the roof is raised higher than the rest of it, and perforated on both sides. The timbers of the roof being calculated always to remain in sight, are curiously worked and arranged, with large coloured busts of bishops and kings, for corbels. Descending from the hall, strangers are generally conducted into a chamber adjoining to the kitchen, in order to view, on the wall, a singular painting of a Hircocervus, or animal compounded of a man, a hog, a deer, and an ass; which is explained by an inscription, there seen in Latin and English verse, to be the allegory of a trusty servant.

Between the hall stairs and the passage into the chapel is another passage, which leads into a fourth court. This consists of the play ground of the collegians, in which stands the School, a magnificent modern edifice, built by a subscription, chiefly of those persons who had been educated in this college. It was finished in 1687, and cost at that time 2600*l*. Over the door is a noble and finished metal statue of Wykeham, cast under the directions of that able statuary Cibber, (father of the less ingenious poet of the same name, the hero of the *Dunciad*,) and presented by him to the college, as the inscription under it declares, viz.

M. S. Gulielmi de Wickham, Episcopi Wintoniensis, Collegii hujus fundatoris. Statuam hanc e metallo conflandam atque heic sumptu suo

ponendam curavit, ex conjugē affinis suā, Caius Gabriel Cibberus, Statuarius Regius. M,DCLXXXII. (1)

It betrayed a great want of taste in those who first caused this fine bronze statue to be painted and gilt; which decorations, after all, are made without due attention to costume.

Entering into the school-room we find it nobly proportioned, being 90 feet by 36, and suitably lofty. On the south end are the following inscriptions, in uncial letters, with the appropriate emblems opposite to them, in the following manner:—

AUT DISCE. (2)	{ A mitre and crosier, as the expected rewards of learning.
AUT DISCEDE. (3)	{ An ink-horn to sign, and a sword to enforce the order of expulsion.
MANET SORS TERTIA CÆDI. (4) A scourge.	

At the north end are inscribed the rules for the conduct of the students, being written in the style of the *Duodecim Tabulæ* of the Romans. We will here insert them, according to the last edition of them by the present right reverend and classical warden:—

Tabula legum Pædagogicarum.

IN TEMPLO.---Deus colitor. Preces cum pio animi affectu peraguntor. Oculi ne vagantor. Silentium esto. Nihil profanum legitor.

IN SCHOLA.---Diligentiâ quisque utitor. Submissè loquitor secum. Clarè ad Præceptorem. Nemini molestus esto. Orthographicè scribito. Arma Scholastica in promptu semper habeto.

IN AULA.---Qui mensas consecrat clarè pronunciato. Cæteri respondentor. Recti

(1) *Sacred to the memory of William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester, founder of this college. Caius Gabriel Cibber, statuary to the king, and a relation, by his wife, of the aforesaid founder, caused this brazen statue of him to be cast and erected here at his own expense.*

(2) *Either learn.*

(3) *Or depart hence.*

(4) *The third choice is to be chastised.*—After all we must allow that sense is sacrificed to sound in the quibble which occurs in the original; as the obvious meaning of this third choice is that persons may remain at college without improving in their learning, provided they will submit to punishment for their neglect.

interim omnes stanto. Recitationes intelligenter et aptè distinguntur. Ad mensas sedentibus omnia decora sunt.

IN ATRIO.---Ne quis fenestras saxis pilisve petito. Ædificium neve inscribendo neve insculpendo deformato. Neve operto Capite neve sine socio coram Magistris incedito.

IN CUBICULUS.---Munda omnia sunt. Vespere studetor. Noctu quies esto.

IN OPPIDO AD MONTEM.---Sociati omnes incedunt. Modestiam præ se ferunt. Magistris ac obviis Honestioribus Capita aperiunt. Vultus, gestus, incessus componunt. Intra Terminos apud Montem præscriptos, quisque se contineto.

IN OMNI LOCO ET TEMPORE.---Qui Plebeius est, Præfectis obtemperato. Qui Præfectus est, legitimè imperato. Is Ordo vitio caret: Cæteris speciem esto. Uterque a pravis omnibus verbisq; factisq; abstinet.

Hæc, aut his similia, qui contra faxit, si quando deferantur, Judicium damus.

Feriis exactis Nemo domi impunè moratur. Extrà Collegium absque veniâ exeuntes tertiâ vice expellimus. (1)

(1) *Table of the Scholastic Laws.*

IN THE CHURCH.—Worship God. Say your prayers with a pious affection of the mind. Let not your eyes wander about. Keep silence. Read nothing profane.

IN THE SCHOOL.—Let each one be diligent in his studies. Let him repeat his lesson in a low tone of voice to himself, but in a clear tone to his master. Let no one give disturbance to his neighbour. Take care to spell your theme aright. Have all your school implements in constant readiness.

IN THE HALL.—Whoever says grace, let him repeat it distinctly. The rest are all to answer to him. All are in the mean time to stand upright in their places. Whatever is to be repeated, let it be clearly and properly pronounced. Whilst you sit at table behave with due decorum.

IN THE COURT.—Let no one throw stones or balls against the windows. Let not the building be defaced with writing or carving upon it. Let no one approach the masters with his head covered or without a companion.

IN THE CHAMBERS.—Let cleanliness be attended to. Let each one study in the evening, and let silence prevail in the night.

IN THE TOWN, GOING TO THE HILL.—Let the scholars walk in pairs. Let them behave with proper modesty. Let them move their hats to their masters and other respectable persons. Let decency regulate your countenance, your motions, and your gait. Let no one on the hill go beyond the prescribed limits.

We shall here mention the names of a few of the eminent prelates and other learned men whom this seminary has produced at different times.

Archbishops of Canterbury—Henry Chicheley, founder of All Soul's College, Oxford, William Warcham, and likewise, to all appearance, Henry Deane.

Bishops of Winchester—Wm. Waynflete, John White, Thomas Bilson, Charles Trimmel.

Bishops of Bath and Wells—Thomas de Beekington, William Knight, Arthur Lake, Thomas Ken.

Bishops of Salisbury—Thomas Chaundler, (1) Alexander Hyde.

Archbishops of Dublin—Tho. Cranley, Hugh Inge.

Prelates of other sees—Robert Sherburn, bishop of Chichester; Tho. Jane, of Norwich; Richard Mayo, or Mayhew, of Hereford; John Holyman, of Bristol; James Turberville, of Exeter; Lewis

Owen, of Cassino; John Merick, of the Isle of Man; John Young, of Callipolis, Robert Lowth, of London, &c.

Eminent writers in the classical line—Wm. Grocyn, Nicholas Udal, John Harmer, Hugh Robinson, Humphry Lloyd, and John Lloyd.

Antiquaries—Robert Talbot; Sir Thomas Brown, and Thomas Warton.

Political writers—Sir Thomas Ryves and Sir Henry Wotton.

Divines—Richard Zouch, John Rastell, Lewis Owen, and Henry Cole. (2)

Epigrammatists—John Owen & John Reinolds.

Poets—Tho. Leyson, George Coryat, Thomas Otway, John Philips, Young, Somerville, Pitt, Collins, Dr. Joseph Warton, &c. (3)

There were three successive masters of Wykeham's scholars previously to their taking possession of the college, viz. Richard de Herton, Tho. de

EVERY WHERE AND AT ALL TIMES.—Let inferiours be subject to the prepostors. Let the prepostors govern with equity. Let the latter be themselves free from fault and give good example to the rest. Let both inferiours and prepostors refrain from every thing that is unbecoming, both in actions and in words.

Whoever disobeys these rules, upon conviction will be sentenced to condign punishment.

No one will be excused in staying at home beyond the time of the vacation. Those who are detected in going out of the college without leave will be expelled for the third offence.

(1) He appears to be the same who wrote the short Life of Wykeham. Ang. Sac. vol. 11.

(2) The three last mentioned were of the number of those deprived by queen Elizabeth for refusing to acknowledge her spiritual supremacy.

(3) To these authors must be added, Stapleton, Pitts, Harding, Martin, Hyde, and the other deprived Wykehamists, mentioned in vol. 1, p. 367, 368.

Cranley, and John Westcott; but it is only from the latter period that the society is to be considered as properly formed, and that the list of its wardens begins, as we gather from some of the above quoted epitaphs. These were

John Morys, appointed.	Nicholas Love - - - 1613
March 28 - - - 1393	John Harris - - - 1630
Robert Thurbern - - 1413	William Burt - - - 1648
Thomas Chaundler - - 1450	John Nicholas - - - 1679
Thomas Baker - - - 1454	Thomas Brathwait - - 1711
Michael Cleve - - - 1485	John Cobb - - - 1720
John Rede - - - 1501	John Dobson - - - 1724
Robert Barnoak - - - 1521	Henry Bigg - - - 1729
Edward More - - - 1526	John Coxed - - - 1740
John White - - - 1541	Christopher Golding - 1757
John Boxal - - - 1554	Henry Lee - - - 1763
Thomas Stemp - - - 1556	George Isaac Huntingford,
Thomas Bilson - - - 1580	Bishop of Gloucester - 1789
John Harmar - - - 1596	

We shall conclude this account of the college with inserting the famous song of *Dulce Domum*, which is publicly sung by the scholars and choristers, aided by a band of music, previously to the summer vacation. The existence of this song can only be traced up to the distance of about a century; yet the real author of it, and the occasion of its composition, are already clouded with fables.

Concinamus, O sodales!

Ejā! quid silemus!

Nobile canticum!

Dulce melos, domum!

Dulce domum, resonemus!

CHORUS.

Domum, domum, dulce domum!

Domum, domum, dulce domum!

Dulce, dulce, dulce domum!

Dulce domum, resonemus!

Appropinquat ecce! felix

Hora gaudiorum:

Post grave tedium

Advenit omnium

Meta petita laborum.

Domum, domum, &c.

Musa, libros mitte, fessa,

Mitte pensa dura,

Mitte negotium

*Jam datur otium,
 Me mea mittilo cura.
 Domum, domum, &c.
 Ridet annus, prata rident;
 Nosque rideamus.
 Jam repetit domum
 Daulius advena:
 Nosque domum repetamus.
 Domum, domum, &c.
 Heus! Rogere, fer caballos;
 Eja, nunc eamus.*

*Limen amabile
 Matris et oscula,
 Suaviter et repetamus.
 Domum, domum, &c.
 Concinamus ad Penates,
 Vox et audiat;
 Phospore! quid jubar,
 Segnius emicans,
 Gaudia nostra moratur?
 Domum, domum, &c.
 (1)*

(1) Amongst many translations of this celebrated Winchester ode, the following, which was given by a writer, who signs himself J. R. in the Gentleman's Magazine for March 1796, appears best to convey the sense, spirit, and measure of the original. The former versions were unworthy of it.

Sing a sweet melodious measure,
 Waft enchanting lays around;
 Home! a theme replete with pleasure!
 Home! a grateful theme, resound!
 CHORUS.
 Home, sweet home! an ample treasure!
 Home! with ev'ry blessing crown'd!
 Home! perpetual source of pleasure!
 Home! a noble strain, resound!
 Lo! the joyful hour advances,
 Happy season of delight!
 Festal songs, and festal dances,
 All our tedious toils requite.
 Home, sweet home! &c.
 Leave, my weary'd muse, thy learning,
 Leave thy task, so hard to bear;
 Leave thy labour, ease returning,
 Leave this bosom, O! my care.
 Home, sweet home! &c.
 See the year, the meadow smiling!
 Let us then a smile display;
 Rural sports, our pain beguiling,
 Rural pastimes call away.
 Home, sweet home! &c.

Now the swallow seeks her dwelling,
 And no longer roves to roam;
 Her example thus impelling,
 Let us seek our native home.
 Home, sweet home! &c.

Let our men and steeds assemble,
 Parting for the wide champaign;
 Let the ground beneath us tremble,
 While we scour along the plain.
 Home, sweet home! &c.

Oh! what raptures, oh! what blisses,
 When we gain the lovely gate!
 Mother's arms, and mother's kisses,
 There our blest arrival wait.
 Home, sweet home! &c.

Greet our household gods with singing;
 Lend, O Lucifer, thy ray;
 Why should light, so slowly springing,
 All our promis'd joys delay!
 Home, sweet home! &c.

CHAP. VI.

Derivation of the Name of Wolvesey.—Its first Foundation as a Royal Palace.—Conferred upon the Diocesan Bishop.—Rebuilt as a Castle.—History of it down to its Demolition in the grand Rebellion.—Description of it from a Survey of its Ruins.—La Carité.—St. Elizabeth's College.—Foundation and Statutes of the same.—Account of its Dissolution by Henry VIII.—Convent of the Carmelite Friars.—Its Foundation and Destruction.

HAVING taken our leave of the College; the remains of the Episcopal Palace and Castle of Wolvesey, which is situated at the east end of College-street, next demand our attention. The most plausible derivation of his name of Wolvesey, is from the celebrated tribute of the wolves' heads, imposed upon the Welch by king Edgar; which, we are positively assured, was ordered to be paid here. (1) The first erection, however, of this palace, is of a much more ancient date. It is said that Kinegils, the first Christian king of the West Saxons, built it as a palace for himself, and that his successor Kenewalch, in order to induce Agilbert, the successor of St. Birinus, to reside at this his capital city, annexed it to the cathedral, which he had lately finished; as a dwelling-house for him and his successors, bishops of the West Saxons. (2) We meet with nothing more relating to this episcopal palace, except the circumstance of the wolves'

(1) Trussel's MSS. ex Archiv. Ecc. Cath.—The term of WOLVESHEAD was in common use before the Conquest for the condition of an outlaw, as appears in the account of the ancient customs of the land, given to William I. by an illustrious jury appointed by him for this purpose.—“ Si nocens sententiam despexerit & infra 31 dies inveniri non poterit, utlegabit. Si postea repertus fuerit & teneri possit vivus, regi reddatur, aut caput ejus, si se defenderit: *lupinum enim caput gerit*, a die utlegationis sue, quod anglice *Wolveshead* dicitur.” Hen. Knighton, De Event. Angl. ap. Twysd. p. 2356.

(2) Trussel's MSS.

heads being paid here, until some time after the Conquest; when the prelates, as well as the secular nobility, having been encouraged and impelled by the first Norman sovereigns to erect castles in every part of the realm, as a bridle upon the English; (1) our powerful bishop Henry de Blois, brother to king Stephen, made a castle of incredible strength here at Wolvesey, in 1138; (2) employing, for this purpose, the materials of the royal palace, built by his uncle, the Conqueror, on the north-west part of the present cathedral church-yard, which he himself took down as an encroachment. (3) An opportunity soon offered of proving the strength of this new-raised fortress; when the empress Maud, being desirous of securing the person of her cousin, the aforesaid bishop, he fortified himself in this his castle; where he stood a siege against the most able generals in the island, Robert earl of Gloucester, and David king of Scotland, who, in the end, were forced to retire from it with confusion. (4) One of the first acts of Henry II. upon his mounting the throne, was to dismantle this and the bishop's other castles. (5) Nevertheless, it appears a century later to have been still a place of considerable strength; as the unworthy prelate Ethelmar, with the three other half brothers of Henry III. fled hither for safety from the parliament of Oxford, hoping to be able to defend themselves in it from the assembled barons. (6) In this expectation, however, they were disappointed; the castle was quickly taken, and probably more effectually dismantled than it had been before. Accordingly we find no further mention of Wolvesey as a place of strength, except the mention which Leland makes of it, as "a castelle or pallace welle tourid;" (7) but

(1) "Ad castella solus omnes fatigabat (Wilhelmus I.) construenda." Hen. Hunt. Hist.—
"Castra erant crebra per totam Angliam." Will. Malm. Novel. I. II.

(2) "An. M. C. xxxviii fecit Henricus episcopus ædificare domum, quasi palatium, cum turri fortissimâ in Wintoniâ." Annal. Wint.

(3) Girald. Cambren. De Sex Episcop. Coet. Ang. Sac. vol. II.—In confirmation of this account of Giraldus, we may add, that pieces of Saxon mouldings and other ornaments appear at the present day, amongst the grout work of what remains of this castle.

(4) See vol. I, p. 213.

(5) Ibid. p. 219.

(6) Mat. Paris & Contin. See vol. I, p. 256.

(7) Itinerary, vol. III, p. 99.

we frequently read of it as the ordinary place of the bishop's residence. Bishop Langton, at the latter end of the 15th century, not satisfied with the two colleges at his gates, turned part of Wolvesey into an episcopal seminary, where he caused a certain number of youths to be educated at his expence. Amongst these, Richard Pace rose to great eminence, by his learning and employments under Henry VIII. (1)

To finish the history of this noble edifice: Having subsisted in splendor nearly 500 years, it was, upon the final reduction of Winchester, by Oliver Cromwell in person, in the year 1646, destroyed as a dwelling-house, and reduced to that heap of ruins which it has continued ever since. At the time that the King's-house, and so many other great buildings, were going forward at Winchester; its bishop, who was the munificent Morley, thinking it a disgrace that he had not a palace to reside in at his cathedral city, began to build a noble edifice for this purpose, (2) under the directions of Sir Christopher Wren; on which he spent the sum of 2800*l.* of his own money, (3) but which he did not live to finish, at least in the inside. This omission, however, was supplied by sir Jonathan Trelawney, about the beginning of the seventeenth century. (4) The episcopal palace, thus completed, was the most perfect and elegant modern building in the city, until within these fifteen years; when the whole of the beautiful front, standing east and west, was taken down by the present bishop, reserving only certain offices at the west end of it. The loss which this city has thus incurred, both with respect to beauty and benefit, is made up to the antiquary by the view that is opened to him of the magnificent ruins of Wolvesey castle, which before were hidden by it: ruins, which persons who have viewed the Colliseum of Vespasian, have declared they can look upon with satisfaction. But alas! even these will not long remain for the gra-

(1) Wood's Athen. Oxon.

(2) This appears from the following inscription, which was placed over the principal door of the palace:—*Georg. Morley Epus has aedes propriis impensis de novo struxit. An. Dom. 1684.*

(3) Wood.

(4) Gale's Hist. Pref.

tification of the curious. For whereas the bishop is obliged to keep certain roads in repair; the constant practice of his workmen is to supply themselves with stones for this purpose, out of the venerable walls of Wolvesey.

The remains before us, belonged to the keep or principal part of the castle. This appears to have been an imperfect parallelogram, extending about 250 feet east and west, and 160 north and south. The area, or inside of the quadrangle, was 150 feet in length, and 110 in breadth; which proves the wings of the building to have been 50 feet deep. The tower, which flanks the keep to the south-east, is square, supported by three thin buttresses, faced with stone. The intermediate space, as well as the building in general, is on the outside composed of cut flints and very hard mortar; a coat of which being spread over the whole, gave it the appearance of free stone. The north-east tower, which advances beyond its level, is rounded off at the extremity. In the centre of the north wing, which has escaped better than the other wings, is a door-way leading into a garden, which is defended by two small towers, and has a pointed arch. Hence there is reason to suspect, that it is of a more modern construction than the rest of the building, which is of the Saxon order. The inside of the quadrangle, towards the court, was faced with polished free stone; as appears from the junction of the north and east wings, which is the most entire morsel in the whole mass, and exhibits a specimen of as rich and elegant work as can be produced from the twelfth century.(1) We there view the pellet ornament and triangular fret, which adorn the circular arches, still remaining; together with the capitals and a corbel bust, executed with a neatness unusual at that early period. Very little remains of the west and south wings; the ruins of these having probably been cleared away by Morley, to make room for the offices of his new palace, which approached very near to them. The only part of the ancient edifice which has escaped destruction, is the episcopal chapel, at the south-west end of the quadrangle. It is astonishing that any antiquary should

(1) See an engraving of it in the Frontispiece of the present volume.

hesitate a moment to pronounce, that this is not coeval with the Saxon work which we have been describing; (1) since it is not only Gothic, but even in the latest stile of that order, as appears in the flat arch of the east window. The inside, however, of this chapel, by no means corresponds with the beauty of its exterior; being ceiled in the modern fashion, and destitute of every kind of ornament.

But we must not confine our ideas of the renowned castle of De Blois, to the present keep; since a place that could stand a siege against a large army, with able generals at its head, must have contained space and buildings sufficient for lodging the stores, and for the movements of a very considerable number both of men and cattle. Accordingly we learn, both from the testimony of Leland, (2) and an actual survey of the ruins and site of the castle, that its walls extended on one side almost to King's-gate, and on the other side to the city bridge; being every where fortified with towers at proper distances. In order to make sufficient room for his purpose, the founder of the castle has evidently altered the original form of the city at this angle; extending its walls, which here are the walls of the episcopal castle, beyond their ancient bounds, so as to form an obtuse angle, destroying the rectangular form, which the Romans always affected in their cities and camps.

Directly opposite to the gates of Wolvesey palace, at the eastern extremity of the warden's garden, was a house belonging to the cathedral monks, called *La Carité*. (3) This, from its name and situation, was not unlikely to have been a Lazaretto to their hospital at the other end of the street, for the reception of patients afflicted with infectious disorders.

St. ELIZABETH'S COLLEGE.

Over against the palace, but at a considerable distance from it, namely, in the meadow adjoining to the wharf, stood the college of St. Elizabeth;

(1) Grose, *Antiquities*.

(2) "The castelle or palace of Wolvesey hemmith yn the toune waulle from the waulle almost to the streate." Leland, *Itin.* vol. III, p. 99.

(3) MSS.

more ancient, by almost a century, than the adjoining college of St. Mary, founded by Wykeham. The founder was John de Pontoys, or de Pontissara, (1) bishop of Winchester, who established it in 1301, (2) for a warden, six other priests, three deacons and sub-deacons, besides young clerks or students; one of whom, between the ages of 10 and 18, was appointed to wait upon each of the priests. (3) By their statutes it was required that both priests and clerks should be "obedient to their chief in all things lawful, grave in their habit and behaviour, modest, sober, good livers, and of good conversation, remote from laymen. They were to eat and drink together in the same house; the chief and chaplains at one table, and the clerks at another. They were to be satisfied with one dish and a pittance; (4) except on Sundays and double festivals, when the chaplains were to have a second dish. They were enjoined to behave themselves devoutly in the chapel; (5) to perform two offices every day; the office of the Blessed Virgin, which was to be repeated in a clear and distinct manner, and that of the ordinary canonical hours of the church, which was to be sung. They were to have three high masses each day; the first of the Blessed Virgin, the second of St. Elizabeth, and the third of the day, according to the use of the church of Sarum, over and above low masses; every priest, not lawfully hindered, being obliged to celebrate every day, besides attending all the above-mentioned offices. No woman was to be admitted into any part of the college, except the chapel and the entrance hall. The members to be received upon this establishment, were to be previously examined, as to their qualifications in learning, singing, and knowledge of the divine office; and to swear to the observance of the

(1) The college of St. Elizabeth of Hungarie, made by Pontissara, bishop of Winchester, lyith strait est upon the new college, and there is but a litle narrow causey betwixt them. The mayne arme and streame of Alsford water, devidid a litle above the college into 2 armes, rennith on each side of the college." Leland, Itin. vol. iii, p. 100.

(2) *Monasticon Anglic.* vol. i, p. 349.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) A small dish, such as vegetables, cheese, fruit, &c. à *Pictantia*, a small money of Poitou. *Glossar.*

(5) *Monastic. Ibid.*

statutes.” (1) This college was one of those which fell a sacrifice to the unbounded avarice of Henry VIII. and his courtiers; being valued then at the yearly income of 112*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* (2) At that time Thomas Runcorn was its warden; who, in return for his readiness to betray his trust, was made one of the first prebendaries of Winchester cathedral, upon the expulsion of the monks. (3) In the scramble for church property amongst the courtiers of that period, the buildings and site of this college fell to the share of sir Thomas Wriothesley, who soon after became earl of Southampton. The situation being convenient for the use of Wykeham's college, its then warden, John White, purchased it of the earl for the sum of 360*l.* subject, however, to the following condition:—That the church of St. Elizabeth's college should be turned into a grammar-school for 70 students, or else that it should be pulled down to the ground before the Pentecost of 1547. (4) This precaution, which is usual in times of sacrilege, was calculated to prevent the church being claimed back for its proper use, in any possible change of public affairs; and, of course, to prevent a claim from the purchaser, of the money which had been paid for it. The latter part of the alternative was chosen; in consequence of which this church, which was ornamented with three altars, one of St. Elizabeth, a second of St. Stephen and St. Laurence, and a third of St. Edmund and St. Thomas the Martyr, (5) was destroyed to its foundations. Adjoining to this college was anciently the parish church of St. Stephen, (6) from which the meadow received its name.

The lover of natural beauty will not leave this spot, so fruitful in subjects of antiquity, without admiring the chalky brow of St. Giles's-hill, which hence is seen to rise with peculiar boldness; the intermingled cottages and

(1) Instead of transcribing the whole text, we have contented ourselves with abridging and giving the meaning of it.

(2) Harpsfield. Speed.

(3) Wood's Fasti. Oxon.

(4) Ibid. MSS.

(5) Monast.

(6) Lowth, ex Regist. Wykeham, p. 70.—“ Withyn these 2 armes (of the river) not far from the very college chirch of S. Elizabeth is a chapel of S. Stephan.”

trees of the Eastern Soke, at its foot, together with the clear rapid stream of the Itchen, which shoots along through them, presenting a certain resemblance of Matlock Bath. Further eastward, the river, having laved some pleasant gardens and passed under Black-bridge, which once was built of wood, but now of stone, fills an artificial canal, communicating in a direct line with the sea; the benefit of which to Winchester here appears in the well-stored wharf adjoining to the bridge. At the distance of a short mile, this water washes the foot of St. Catharine's-hill; the swelling sides and high tufted summit of which forms an interesting object; as do also the massive tower and walls of St. Cross, half hidden amongst lofty elm trees, at an equal distance, in the valley beneath it. Thither let us now extend our survey, as this fabric formed part of ancient Winchester, being the extremity of its suburbs to the south; taking notice, however, of certain antiquities which occur in our way to it.

CARMELITE CONVENT.

Returning through College-street, we enter into King's-gate-street, which proceeds in a right line from the gate of that name. It seems plain from Leland, that this street was heretofore called St. Michael's-street. (1) In fact, about the middle of it, on the west side, stands the parish church of St. Michael; being one of those mentioned in the episcopal registers of the 14th century. (2) This, like most of the other parish churches of this city, is mean in its appearance, and has nothing to attract the notice of the curious; unless they choose to credit the idle story, of a certain room over the east end, now closed, having been in former times a confessional. (3) Opposite to this church, on the other side, is a close, called College-mead, in which stood the church and convent of the Carmelite Friars; (4) so called from Mount Carmel, in Palestine, where the first house of this cele-

(1) Itin. vol. III, p. 101.

(2) Regist. Orlton.

(3) Anonym. History, vol. I, p. 205.

(4) MSS.

brated order was situated. (1) They were also called White Friars, (2) from the colour of their outside cloak and hood. The first religious of this order were brought into England in 1240, by John lord Vesey and Richard lord Grey, on their return from a crusade in the Holy Land; and settled near Alnwick, in Northumberland, and at Ailsford, in Kent. (3) The convent in question, which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, was founded in 1278 by Peter, who is called the parish priest of St. Hellen's, in the city of Winchester. (4) The Carmelites being a mendicant, or poor order, which subsisted entirely on the charity of the faithful; this convent, of course, was not endowed with any estates. Hence they had nothing to forfeit at the dissolution of religious houses, except their dwelling and the land on which it stood. These were estimated at no more than six shillings and eight-pence yearly; (5) nevertheless, being bestowed upon Wykeham's college, to which they joined, (6) they proved a valuable acquisition to it, by enlarging its enclosure, which before was rather confined. About the middle of the way to St. Cross we come to the farm formerly called De la Berton, now Barton, which was the property of St. Swithun's priory. (7) The house belonging to this, by the moats with which it was surrounded, and other marks, appears to have been once a place of some consequence.

(1) Certain learned men of this order pretended to derive a succession of it from the prophet Elias, who resided on Mount Carmel, as we read 1 alias III of Kings, c. XVIII. Certain it is that we find them on that spot in the 12th century, previously to the existence of the other mendicant orders.

(2) Grose is so ill informed as to call the Franciscans *White Friars*.

(3) Monasticon, vol. III, p. 158, from Bale, the learned antiquary, who was himself an apostate from that order.

(4) Tanner's Notitia Monastica. Speed's Catalogue. Harpsfield.

(5) MSS.

(6) Ditto.

(7) Ditto.

CHAP. VII.

General Description of the Hospital of St. Cross.—Nature of its first Foundation by Bishop De Blois.—Reformed by Wykeham.—Additional Foundation made to it by Cardinal Beaufort.—Present State of this Charity.—History of its most remarkable Masters.—Survey of the present Fabric.—Outward Court.—Inward Court.—The Church remarkable for the different Stiles of its Architecture, and particularly for the first regular E`ssay of the Pointed Order.—Absurd Systems concerning the Origin of this Order.—The real History of its Beginning, Progress, and Perfection.—Alterations in this Church of a later Date.—Remaining Curiosities contained in it.—Account of the Intrenchments and other remarkable Things on St. Catherine's-Hill.—The Convent of the Augustine Friars.—Certain Circumstances in their History.—South Gate of the City.

THERE is not within the island any remnant of ancient piety and charity of the same kind, which has been so little changed in its institution and appearance as the Hospital of St. Cross. The lofty tower, with the grated door and porter's lodge beneath it, the retired ambulatory, the separate cells, the common refectory, the venerable church, the black flowing dress and silver cross worn by the members, the conventual appellation of *brother*, with which they salute each other; in short, the silence, the order, and the neatness which here reign, serve to recall the idea of a monastery, to those who have seen one, and will give no imperfect idea of such an establishment to those who have not had that advantage.

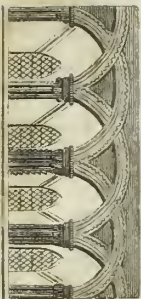
This, however, never was a monastery, but only an hospital for the support of ancient and infirm men, living together in a regular and devout manner; of which sort there was formerly an incredible number in the



from the old window

The SOUTH WEST VIEW of the CHURCH and HOSPITAL of ST. CROSS.

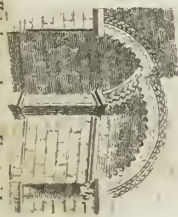
from the old window



Interesting window in the archway of the church.



Norman Pillar and arch in the South West View.



Triple arch in the East side of the South Transept.

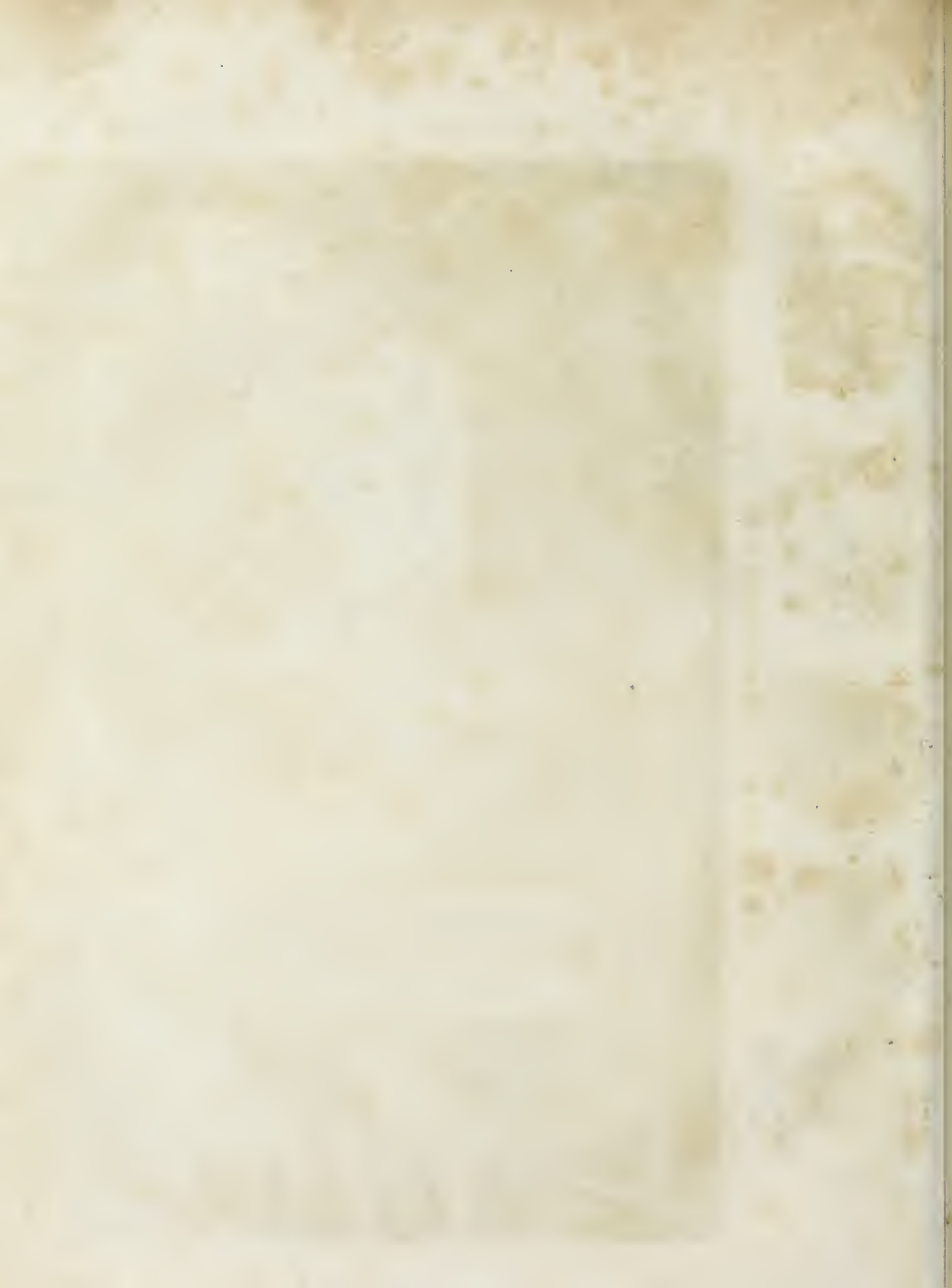


Heavy stone arch in the North Transept.



Sharp pointed Norman arch in the South Transept.

Various Specimens of ARCHITECTURE in the CHURCH of ST. CROSS.



kingdom. It is true, that soon after the conversion of the island to Christianity, a monastery had been erected on the same spot, (1) the original name of which was Sparkford; (2) but this having been destroyed by the Pagan Danes, (3) was never afterwards rebuilt. The first founder of the hospital was Henry De Blois, the celebrated bishop of Winchester, and brother of king Stephen; who instituted it about the year 1136, (4) to provide with every necessary 13 poor men, who were otherwise unable to maintain themselves. They were required to reside in the house, and were allowed each of them daily a loaf of good wheat bread, of 3lb. 4oz. weight, and a gallon and a half of good small beer. They had also a pottage called *Mortrel*, made of milk, and *Wasselbred*; (5) a dish of flesh or fish, as the day should require, with a pittance, for their dinner; likewise one dish for their supper. Besides these 13 resident poor men, the foundation required that 100 others, (6) the most indigent that could be found in the city, but of good character, should be provided every day with a loaf of bread, three quarts of small beer, and two messes for their dinner; in a hall appointed

(1) “*Xenodochium illud celeberrimum S. Crucis Wintoniæ dotavit & construxit, in loco ubi nescio quid coenobioli ante aliquot sæcula positum, sed a Danis dirutum & destructum fuerat.*” Godwin, *De Prasul.*

(2) Lowth, *Life of W. W.*

(3) Godwin.

(4) This is the date assigned by Lowth, whilst Godwin gives it that of 1132. In this account we freely make use of the materials collected by the former in his *Life of Wykeham*, from the registers of that bishop, and the MSS. of New College.

(5) Dr. Lowth complains, p. 75. that he is unable to find these two words in the Glossaries. With respect to the former, it will be found that *Mortrel* was used for a kind of mess made of the yolk of eggs. As to the latter, which our author derives from the imaginary word *Wastell*, the vessel or basket in which it was baked; it will be seen in Du Cange and Twysden, that *Wastelli*, rolls or cakes of a finer bread, were also called *Sinnelli*. Now from the *Consuetudines Glastonienses*, it appears that these *Sinnelli* were served in our ancient communities, when the *Poculum Charitatis*, namely the *Wassail*, or health cup, went round. Hence it is probable, from the circumstance of their accompanying the *Wassail Cup*, that the *Sinnelli* themselves derived the name of *Panes Wasselli*, quasi, health cakes.

(6) On the anniversary of the founder, instead of 100 poor men, 300 were fed, and other extraordinary charities were bestowed on the chief festivals of the year. See Lowth, *Life of W. W.*

for this purpose, called from this circumstance *Hundred-mennes-hall*; and as this was a very ample allowance, they were permitted to carry home with them whatever they did not consume on the spot. There was also a foundation for a master, with a salary of from seven to eight pounds annually, together with a steward, four chaplains, thirteen clerks, and seven choristers, (1) the latter of whom were kept at school in the hospital, besides servants.

The controllers and head administrators of this charity were, by the appointment of De Blois, the Religious Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem; whose peculiar institute it was to take care of hospitals, and who had a preceptory (2) at Baddesley, near Lymington, in this county. (3) But the succeeding bishop, Richard Tocklyve, disagreeing with these religious, concerning the administration of the hospital; they, at the instance of the sovereign, Henry II. and upon certain conditions agreed upon between the parties, resigned their charge into the hands of the prelate and his successors. Tocklyve, being bent upon the improvement of this charity, provided that an additional hundred poor persons, should be supported on it, besides those appointed by his predecessor. In the end, however, he seems to have built and founded an hospital of his own, on the opposite side of the city. (4) The institution of St. Cross, having been much injured and diverted from its original purpose, by certain masters of it, in the 14th century, (5) it was, with infinite pains, and many a tedious process, both in the spiritual and temporal courts, brought back to its original perfection by the great Wykeham; who made use for this purpose of his worthy and able confidant John de Campden, having appointed him to the

(1) Our author seems to suppose that these priests and clerks were not of the original foundation; but it is quite improbable that the munificent prelate would have left his hospital without the necessary means of having the divine office, &c. performed in it.

(2) Their houses were not called convents, but preceptories.

(3) *Monasticon*. Harpsfield. Speed.

(4) Viz. The hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, on the hill of that name. The arguments in favour of this opinion will be given hereafter.

(5) Lowth's *Life of W. W.* ex *Regist.* et *MSS.*

mastership of it. (1) In short, this establishment, as Lowth remarks, was put upon so good a footing by Wykeham and Campden, that the succeeding bishop, cardinal Beaufort, being resolved to imitate the conduct of his predecessors, in making some permanent charitable foundation, chose rather to enlarge this ancient institution, than to erect a new one. With this view, he made an endowment for the maintenance of two more priests, 35 additional poor men, residents in the house, and of three women, being hospital nuns, to attend upon the sick brethren; in all forty persons. It must be allowed, by the greatest enemies of the cardinal, that this was performing charity in the true spirit of that virtue. By thus building on the tried foundation of another, he relieved the suffering in the most effectual manner; and, in a great measure, eluded the ostentation of his good work. The intention of Beaufort was, that his charity should be applied chiefly to the relief of decayed gentlemen. With this view, he appointed that the hospital, which he nearly rebuilt, should be called *The Alms House of Noble Poverty*. (2)

The present establishment of St. Cross is but the wreck of the two ancient institutions; having been severely fleeced, though not quite destroyed, like so many other hospitals, at the Reformation. Instead of 70 residents, as well clergy as laity, who were here entirely supported, besides 100 out members who daily received their meat and drink; the charity consists at present but of ten residing brethren, and three out pensioners, exclusive of one chaplain and the master. It is true, however, that certain doles of bread continue to be distributed to the poor of the neighbourhood; and, what is perhaps the only vestige left in the kingdom of the simplicity and hospitality of ancient times, the porter is daily furnished with a certain quantity of good bread and beer; of which every traveller or other person whosoever, that knocks at the lodge and calls for relief, is entitled to partake gratis.

The brethren of this venerable institute being happily destined "to walk through the cool sequestered vale of life; have kept the noiseless tenor of

(1) Lowth.

(2) *Domus Eleemosynaria Nobilis Paupertatis*. Lowth, from Leger-book Wint.

their way," (1) in succession, during almost eight centuries. The masters only, who have been mostly clergymen of considerable distinction, afford any materials for history.

We have already noticed a master of St. Cross, who lived within about a century after its foundation, who was distinguished by his violent opposition to the persecuted bishop of the see, William de Raleigh. (2) In the succeeding century we find this place conferred by bishop Edington upon his nephew John de Edington; and after the succession of certain intermediate masters, we have seen it bestowed by the great Wykeham on John Campden, (3) his particular friend, and one of the executors of his last will. Both these nominations prove the importance of the place at that early period. At the conclusion of the 15th century, we find in this preferment Robert Sherbourne, a native of this county, and a member of both Wykeham's colleges; (4) who afterwards became successively bishop of St. David's and of Chichester; the latter of which he resigned, and died in a private station in 1536. He spent great sums of money in beautifying the cathedral of the last-mentioned place; on which occasion he seems to have taken for his motto the text *Dilexi decorem domus tue*. (5) He was also very charitable to the poor, and munificent to the places of his education. (6) At the beginning of the reign of James I. we have mentioned the fatal consequences of that prince's setting aside the nomination which his predecessor had made of this lucrative place to George Brook, brother to lord Cobham, in favour of Hudson, a Scotchman. (7) In the end it fell to the lot of Arthur Lake, who became bishop of Bath and Wells. Soon after we find Theodore Price master of St. Cross. He was prebendary of Winchester and sub-dean of Westminster. (8) Nothing need be added to what we have

(1) Gray's Elegy.

(2) Vol. i, p. 245. (3) Lowth, Life of W. W. (4) Athen. Oxon. Godwin.

(5) *I have loved the beauty of thy house*. Ps. 25 alias 26.—These authors tell us that he sometimes used another motto, viz. *Operibus credite*. We find, however, at St. Cross, together with his initials, a third motto, which was certainly of his choice, viz. *Dilexi sapientiam*.

(6) Wood.

(7) Vol. i, p. 394.

(8) He died a Catholic.

said (1) concerning the displacing of Dr. Lewis from this mastership in the grand rebellion; and of its being successively conferred upon the regicides, John Lisle, M. P. for this city, and John Cook, at that time solicitor-general and chief justice of Ireland. Another distinguished master of St. Cross was Henry Compton, son of the brave earl of Northampton, who died fighting for his master king Charles I. at the battle of Hopton Heath. The son imitated his father in bearing arms in the same cause; but betaking himself at length to a studious life, his first preferment was the care of this hospital, from which he was promoted first to the see of Oxford, and thence to that of London. He died in 1713. (2)

We enter into this venerable building on the north side, through a large gateway which conducts into the first court. Here, on the left hand, we see the *Hundred-mennes-hall*, being the refectory in which the 100 out-boarders used to be served with their daily portions. High up, at the eastern end of it, there appears to have been a window; by means of which the master was enabled, from an apartment communicating with it, to inspect the behaviour of this class of poor men. It is about 40 feet long, and is now turned into a brew-house. On the right hand is a range of buildings, which constituted the kitchen, scullery, and other offices necessary for preparing victuals for so large a family. In front of us we have, on one side, the back of the porter's lodge, on the other the two north windows of the brethren's-hall; and, in the centre, the lofty and beautiful tower, raised by the second founder Beaufort, whose statue in his cardinal's hat and robes appears kneeling in an elegant niche on the upper part of it. There are two other niches on the same level and of the same form. That in the centre, before which the cardinal knelt, was probably a crucifix, as being the particular subject of devotion in this hospital of *The Holy Cross*; whilst that on the left hand (3) most likely represented

(1) Vol. i, p. 414.

(2) Richardson, De Præsul.

(3) Once for all we observe, that the left hand, with regard to the spectator, in viewing statues, altars, and other objects that are in front of him, is the honourable side, being the right hand with respect to the objects themselves.

St. John, the particular patron of the Order of Hospitallers. In the cornice, over the gates of this tower, we behold the cardinal's hat displayed ; together with the busts of his father John of Gaunt, of his royal nephews Henry IV. and Henry V. and of his predecessor Wykeham. In the span-drills, on each side, appear the founder's arms, viz. France and England quarterly. The centre boss, in the groining of the gateway, is carved into a curious cross, composed of leaves, and surrounded with a crown of thorns. On the left hand is the door of the porter's lodge.

We now pass into the second, or principal court, where we behold most of the striking objects which are mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. In the first place, the solemn church of De Blois, which advances a considerable way into the court, and prevents its being a perfect parallelogram, catches the eye, and strikes us with its massiveness and vastness. But we reserve this curious and instructive subject, for a particular and minute survey, after we shall have viewed the other parts of the hospital. On the left hand of the court, stretching from the north transept of the church to the porter's lodge, is a long open portico, 135 feet in length, called in ancient times an Ambulatory, being calculated for the exercise of the venerable brethren in bad weather. This part of the fabric and the chambers over it bear proofs of the alterations which have been made in them, both by Sherbourne, master of the hospital in the reign of Henry VII. and by Compton, who governed it in that of Charles II.; still, however, it is not improbable, that the substance of the building is part of the original work of the first founder De Blois. The chambers are to this day called *the Nuns Rooms*, being the apartments which the three hospital sisters, who were appointed to attend the sick, occupied ; being likewise the infirmary, where the sick brethren themselves were lodged during their illness. At the east end of these apartments, is seen a window communicating with the church ; which being opened, the patients, as they lay in their beds, might attend to the divine services there going forward. Looking upon the south front of the tower, from the inside of the court, we see a single niche, resembling those which we saw on the north side. This was filled

with a female statue, until within the last fifty years; when it fell down by accident, and was destroyed. The venerable brethren who remember this occurrence, and the risk which one of their number ran of being killed by its falling upon him, tell us, that it represented a milk-maid with a pail upon her head, and that the original foundation of the hospital by De Blois, was owing to his meeting with a person of that description on this spot, and to the conversation which he had with her upon the utility of such a charitable institute. We do not hesitate to pronounce that this pretended milk-maid with the pail upon her head, was intended for the Blessed Virgin, with her high crown, such as we see in many of her statues; and we have in this fabricated history a curious instance of the stories which were sometimes palmed upon ignorant iconoclasts, in order to preserve religious statues. Adjoining to the tower, on the west side of it, is the common hall, or refectory, to which we ascend by a flight of stone steps. The windows are elegantly proportioned and mullioned, and have heretofore been entirely filled with painted glass; the remnants of which, and in particular those exhibiting the cardinal's arms and motto, still remain in most of them. The roof here, like the refectories of the cathedral priory and of the college, is left open to the timbers, which are of Irish oak, and elegantly disposed in the Gothic fashion. Next to the hall are the master's apartments, which are spacious and convenient. The windows in one of its galleries are ornamented with some curious specimens of ancient painted glass. The whole west wing consists of the cells of the brethren; each one of whom has three small chambers to himself and a separate garden; being the precise allotment of the Carthusian monks. The south wing having been long untenanted and out of repair, has been taken down within these few years. It is impossible for us to deny that this measure has injured the uniformity, the solitariness, and the venerable appearance of the building; but we have been assured, that what has been lost in point of effect, has been compensated for in real utility, by the dryness and wholesomeness which have been thereby acquired.

We now return to the church, which is regularly built, in the cathedral

form, consisting of a nave and side aisles, 150 feet long; a transept, which measures 120 feet; and a large square tower over the intersection. It is entirely the work of De Blois, except the front and upper story of the west end, these being of a later date; and it seems to have been an effort of that great encourager of the arts, (1) to produce a style of architecture more excellent, and better adapted to ecclesiastical purposes, than what had hitherto been known. This style accordingly soon after made its appearance in a regular shape. The building before us seems to be a collection of architectural essays, with respect to the disposition and form both of the essential parts and of the subordinate ornaments. Here we find the ponderous Saxon pillar, of equal dimensions in its circumference and in its length, which, however, supports an incipient pointed arch. The windows and arches are some of them short, with semicircular heads, and some of them immoderately long, and terminating like a lance. Others are in the horse-shoe form; of which the entrance into the north porch is the most curious specimen. In one place we have a curious triangular arch, of which we have exhibited the form in our plate of this building. The capitals and bases of the columns alternately vary in their form, as well as in their ornaments. The same circumstance is observable in the ribs of the arches, especially in the north and south aisles; some of them being plain, others profusely embellished, and in different styles, even within the same arch. Here we view almost every kind of Saxon and Norman ornament, the chevron, the billet, the hatched, the pellet, the fret, the indented, the nebulé, the wavey, all superiorly executed. But what is chiefly deserving of attention in this ancient church is, what may perhaps be con-

(1) "Hic quicquam in bestiis, quicquam in avibus, quicquam in monstribus terrarum variis, peregrinum magis, & præ oculis hominum vehementius obstupendum & admirandum audire vel excogitare potuerat, tanquam innatæ nobilitatis indicia congerebat. Præterea opera mira, palatia sumptuosissima, stagna grandia, ductus aquarum difficiles, hypogeosque, varia per loca meatus, denique ea quæ regibus terrarum magnis difficillima factu visa sunt hæcenus & quasi desperata, effectui mancipari tanquam facillima, mirâ magnanimitate procurabat." Girald. Cambrens. De Hen Bles. Copula Tergemina.

sidered as the first regular step to the introduction of that beautiful style of architecture, properly called the *Pointed*, and abusively the *Gothic*, order; concerning the origin of which, most of our antiquaries have run into the most absurd systems.

Sir Christopher Wren, whose authority has seduced bishop Lowth, (1) Warton, and most other writers on this subject, observing that this style of building prevailed during the time when the nobility of this and the neighbouring countries were in the habit of resorting, as crusaders, to the east, then subject to the Saracens; fancied they learned it there, and brought it back with them into Europe. Hence they termed it the Saracenic style. But it is to be remembered, that the first or grand crusade took place at the latter end of the eleventh century, long before the appearance of the pointed architecture in England, France, or Italy; which, if it had been copied from other buildings, would have appeared amongst us all at once, in a regular and perfect form. But what absolutely decides this question, is the proof brought by Bentham and Grose, that throughout all Syria, Arabia, &c. there is not a Gothic building to be discovered; except such as were raised by the Latin Christians, subsequent to the perfection of that style in Europe. (2) A still more extraordinary, or rather extravagant theory, than that which has been confuted, is advanced by bishop Warburton. (3) He supposes that the "Goths who conquered Spain in 470, becoming Christians, endeavoured to build their churches in imitation of the spreading and interlacing bows of the groves, in which they had been accustomed to perform their Pagan rites, in their native country of Scandinavia, and that they employed for this purpose Saracen architects, whose exotic style suited their purpose." The Visigoths conquered Spain

(1) Life of W. W.

(2) It is true, various specimens of the pointed arch have, of late years, been brought from India; but the buildings in which they are found seem to be of a much later date than the twelfth century, when the pointed arch became universal in Europe. At all events, our Gothic architects did not learn this style of building in India.

(3) Notes on Pope's Epistles.

and became Christians in the fifth century; of course they began at the same time to build churches there. The Saracens did not arrive in Spain until the eighth century; when, instead of building churches, they destroyed them, or turned them into mosques. In every respect this theory is inconsistent, besides ascribing to the pointed architecture too early a date by a great many centuries. But supposing even the possibility of its having lain hidden there for so long a period; certainly, in this case, according to our former observation, it would at last have burst upon the rest of Europe in a state of perfection, contrary to what every one knows to have been the fact.

But why need we recur to the caravansaries of Arabia, or to the forests of Scandinavia, for a discovery, the gradations of which we trace at home, in an age of improvement and magnificence, namely, the twelfth century; and amongst a people, who were superior in arts as well as arms to all those above-mentioned, namely, the Normans? About the time we are speaking of, many illustrious prelates of that nation, chiefly in our own country, exhausted their talents and wealth, in carrying the magnificence of their churches and other buildings to the greatest height possible. Amongst these were Rôger of Sarum, Alexander of Lincoln, Mauritius of London, and Roger of York; each of whose successive improvements were of course adopted by the rest: nevertheless there is reason to doubt, whether any or all of them contributed, so much as our magnanimous Henry of Winchester, to those improvements, which gradually changed the Norman into the Gothic architecture.

We have remarked that the Normans, affecting height in their churches no less than length, were accustomed to pile arches and pillars upon each other, sometimes to the height of three stories; as we see in Walkelin's work in our cathedral. They frequently imitated these arches and pillars in the masonry of their plain walls; and, by way of ornament and variety, they sometimes caused these plain round arches to intersect each other, as we behold in the said prelate's work, on the upper part of the south transept of Winchester cathedral; being possibly the earliest instance of this inte-

resting ornament to be met with in the kingdom. They were probably not then aware of the happy effect of this intersection, in forming the pointed arch, until De Blois having resolved to ornament the whole sanctuary of the church at present under consideration, with these intersecting semicircles, after richly embellishing them with mouldings and pellet ornaments, conceived the idea of opening them, by way of windows, to the number of four over the altar, and of eight on each side of the choir, which at once produced a series of highly pointed arches. Pleased with the effect of this first essay at the east end, we may suppose that he tried the effect of that form in various other windows and arches, which we find amongst many of the same date, that are circular, in various parts of the church and tower. However that matter may be, and wherever the pointed arch was first produced, its gradual ascent naturally led to a long and narrow form of window and arch, instead of the broad circular ones, which had hitherto obtained; and these required that the pillars on which they rested, or which were placed at their sides by way of ornament, should be proportionably tall and slender. Hence it became necessary to choose a material of firm texture for composing them; which occasioned the general adoption of Purbeck marble for this purpose. But even this substance being found too weak to support the incumbent weight, occasioned the shafts to be multiplied, and thus produced the cluster column. But to return to the arches and windows; these being in general very narrow, at the first discovery of the pointed arch, as we see in the ruins of Hyde-abbey, (1) built within 30 years after St. Cross; (2) in the refectory of Beaulieu, raised by king John; and in the inside of the tower before us, built by De Blois himself; it became necessary sometimes to place two of these windows close to each other, which not unfrequently stood under one common arch; as may be discovered in different parts of De Lucy's work in our cathedral, executed in the reign of king John, and in the lower tire of the windows

(1) In the part now used as a barn.

(2) Namely, when erected the second time, after having been destroyed in the civil war between king Stephen and the empress Maud.

in the church of Netley-abbey. This disposition of two lights occasioning a dead space between their heads, a trefoil or quatrefoil, one of the simplest and most ancient kind of ornaments, was introduced to adorn it; as in the porch of Beaulieu refectory, in the ornamental work of De Lucy, in the ancient part of the Lady chapel, Winton, and in the west door of the present church of St. Cross. The happy effect of this simple ornament caused the upper part of it to be introduced into the heads of the arches themselves; so that there is hardly a small arch, or the resemblance of an arch of any kind, from the days of Edward II. down to those of Henry VIII. which is not ornamented in this manner. The trefoil, by an easy addition, became a cinquefoil; and being made use of in circles and squares, produced fans and Catherine's wheels. In like manner, large east and west windows beginning to obtain about the reign of Edward I. required that they should have numerous divisions or mullions; which, as well as the ribs and transoms of the vaulting, began to ramify into a great variety of tracery, according to the architect's taste, being all of them uniformly ornamented with the trefoil or cinquefoil head. The pointed arch on the outside of a building required a canopy of the same form; which, in ornamental work, as in the tabernacle of a statue, mounted up ornamented with leaves or crockets, and terminated in a trefoil. In like manner, the buttresses that were necessary for the strength of these buildings, could not finish, conformably to the general style of the building, without tapering up into ornamented pinnacles. A pinnacle of a larger size became a spire; accordingly such were raised upon the square towers of former ages, where the funds of the church and other circumstances would permit. Thus we see how naturally the several gradations of the pointed architecture arose one out of another, as we learn from history was actually the case; and how the intersecting of two circular arches in the church of St. Cross may perhaps have produced Salisbury steeple.

We have intimated that the front and upper stories of the west end bear marks of a much later date than the rest of the fabric. They seem to have been altered to their present form about the time of Wykeham. The

vaulting of this part was evidently made by the second founder, Beaufort, whose arms, together with those of Wykeham and of the hospital, are seen on the centre orbs of it; that at the east end, by the Saxon ornaments with which it is charged, bespeaks the workmanship of the first founder, De Blois.

Other things remarkable in this church are, the rich Gothic spire-work, placed in later ages on each side of the high altar; the remains of the two side altars, at the eastern end of each of the aisles, that on the north side being furnished with a curious piscina; the carved figures of illustrious scripture personages over the 16 stalls in the choir, which by the style of the design and work, appear to be of the reign of Henry VII. (1) the ancient monumental brass, with a copious and edifying epitaph of the illustrious master and friend of this establishment, John de Campden, (2) which lies within the present screen; and the modern mural monument of Wolfran Cornwall, esq. late speaker of the house of commons, being on the south side without the screen: finally, the curious painted glass in the great west window, placed there at the expense of the late master. This consists partly of ancient figures of saints, amongst which we distinguish the Blessed Virgin, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Catherine; and partly of modern stained glass, containing the arms of his Majesty, of the Prince of Wales, and of other branches of the royal family, as likewise of the hospital itself; and in the open quatrefoil, over the door, the arms and initials of the said master, Dr. Lockman. We must not forget that there is, in different parts of the pavement, a great quantity of glazed tiles, called and supposed to be Roman; though upon some of them we clearly see the hatched and other Saxon ornaments, and upon others the English monosyllables *Have mynde*, (3) in the common black letter of the 15th century, which brings the use of these tiles almost down to our own age.

(1) They are published by Mr. Carter, in his *Specimens of Antient Sculpture*.

(2) See engravings of these, in the last-mentioned work.

(3) This means *Remember*, being probably intended to remind the brethren to pray for their benefactors.

From the pleasant meadows of St. Cross, we have a distinct view of the remarkable mount, called St. Catherine's-hill; which is only separated from it, by the different branches of the clear and rapid Itchen. Its summit is crowned with a clump of fir trees, and its sides are indented with a deep military ditch, beyond which is raised a mound of proportionable height. From the supposed circular form of this intrenchment, it is generally called a Danish camp; but, as a learned topographer remarks, "it is neither round nor square, but made according to the ground of the hill." (1) Hence, as far as the form is concerned, there is as much reason to pronounce it a Roman as a Danish or Saxon work. But there are many reasons which incline us to ascribe it to the first mentioned, rather than to either of the latter people. These are, its convenient distance for the purpose of a *Castrum Æstivum* for the Roman legionaries stationed at Venta; its being placed closed to the river, a circumstance which generally attends the Roman, but not so often the Barbarian camps in this country; finally, its direct communication with the great Roman road from Portchester to Winchester, Silchester, &c. by another road of the same form extending over the adjoining down. On the top of St. Catharine's-hill was a chapel of that saint; (2) the endowments of which were amongst those that were seized upon by Wolsey, (3) for the benefit of his colleges at Ipswich and Oxford, during the short time that he held this bishopric. The pleasant mountain, of which we have been speaking, has also obtained the name of College-hill, from the frequent resort of the students in this city to it for their diversion. Near the top of it, on the north-east side, is the form of a Labyrinth,

(1) Gibson, in his Additions to Camden.

(2) A great number of high hills in the south of England are called after St. Catherine, and formerly had chapels upon them dedicated in her name. This circumstance seems to have proceeded from the legend, which relates that the body of that saint was buried on Mount Sinai.

(3) "Ther was a very fair chapelle of S. Catarine on an hill scant half a mile without Winchester town by south. Thomas Wolsey, cardinal, caused it to be suppressid, as I hard say." Leland, *Itin.* vol. iii, p. 102.

impressed upon the turf, which is always kept entire by the coursing of the sportive youth through its meandrings. The fabled origin of this Dædalean work is connected with that of the Dulce Domum song.

Returning to Winchester, by the Southampton road; in a field, adjoining to the village of St. Cross, may be discovered some vestiges of the church of St. Faith, once very considerable, (1) and forming part of the suburbs of Winchester. Directly opposite to this spot is a road, leading along Painter's Field, to the venerable church-yard of St. James, by which the society of St. Cross probably made their procession to it.

On the same east side of the road, a little before we arrive at the city, is a house and close called the *Priory*. This we take to be a corruption of the *Friary*; being the site of the church and convent of the friars or hermits of St. Augustine. This order vainly contended with the canons regular, to be the genuine descendants of the religious order instituted by St. Augustine, (2) the illustrious doctor of the church, and bishop of Hippo in the fifth century. The truth is, their existence cannot be traced beyond the 13th, (3) the same that gave rise to most of the other mendicants. Their arrival in England is dated in 1252; soon after which they obtained of Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, a noble church and convent in that part of London, still called Austin Friars. (4) At what precise time the convent of this order in our city was founded does not appear. Certain it is, that it had subsisted some time in 1314, as a charter is extant in the Tower, permitting the Augustine Friars of Winchester to enjoy the benefaction of Hugh Tripacy, consisting of a messuage and piece of ground, twelve perches long, and six broad; for the purpose of enlarging their convent there. (5) Thus far they were within the compass of their charter, and

(1) Leland, Itin. vol. III, p. 102.

(2) Stephens, Monastic. Anglic. vol. III.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Part of the site of this being bestowed by Henry VIII. on William lord Paulet, marquis of Winchester, he thereon built a house for himself, called Winchester-house, where now stands Winchester-street. Monasticon.

(5) 7 Edw. II, part I, m. 8, referred to by Gale, in his collection of Charters.

secure; but having, in the following reign, ventured to purchase, with money which had probably been given them for this purpose, certain other tenements and grounds, without the king's licence; a writ of inquiry was issued to take cognizance of the transaction, which was followed by a decree of chancery, confiscating the new purchase to the king's use, who conferred it upon the corporation of Winchester. (1) This convent, which, at its dissolution, was valued only at 13s. 8d. per ann. was, with the other friaries, obtained by the college. Against a new-built-house, at the corner of a street, called Barrow-stitchin-lane, (2) is placed the mitre with the inscription quoted above, which was lately over the door of Wolvesey-palace.

We now find ourselves close to the place where South-gate stood of late. For the greater security of the city, the entrance into it, on this side, was formerly over a draw-bridge; (3) and adjoining to the gate, on the west, was the church of St. Mary Ode, the remains of which were extant in the beginning of the eighteenth century. (4) Instead, however, of now entering into the city, let us pass up the lane, which proceeds along the castle ditch; being the same by which the cathedral monks used to make their procession up to St. James's; in order that we may survey the ruins of the ancient fortress, and whatever else is worth notice in its neighbourhood.

(1) 16 Edw. III. Ibid.

(2) Ita Godson, in his Map. Anonymous calls it *Palliard Twitchen-lane*. Perhaps the true name was *Bar St. Swithin-lane*, from a bar which occasionally shut it up at the end near St. Swithin's parish church. The inhabitants have very lately thought proper to have it called Canon-street.

(3) Pontes Volatiles. Trussel's MS.

(4) Ibid.

CHAP. VIII.

Fabulous History of the Foundation of the Castle.—Built by William I.—Events that took place there in his Reign.—Remarkable Siege of it in King Stephen's Reign.—Repaired and enlarged by that Prince.—Given up to Bishop Lucy, and reclaimed by Richard I.—Used as a Court of Justice by Henry III.—Besieged and taken by the French Dauphin.—Prisoners confined in it by Edward I.—Becomes a Scene of Cruelties under the Tyranny of Queen Isabella.—Repaired by Wykeham.—The Residence of succeeding Princes.—Alienated by James I.—Garrisoned for King Charles I.—Taken and dismantled by Cromwell.—Bestowed upon Waller.—Bought by Charles II.—Erection of the King's House.—The latter turned into a Prison of War.—Contagion that raged in it.—Lent to the French Emigrant Clergy.—Becomes a Barrack.—Description of several Parts of the Ancient Castle.—Genuine Account of the Round Table.—Dimensions, &c. of the King's House.—Ancient Parish Church and Cemetery of St. James.—Ditto of St. Anastatia.—The Obelisk.

IN speaking of the ancient Castle of Winchester, we are obliged to make great abatements from the glories with which it has hitherto been invested. We cannot admit that it was built by the renowned British hero, Arthur, in 523: (1) because we have proved that the victorious Cerdic, had some years before this date, firmly established the West Saxon kingdom, and made this our city his capital; (2) and because we have clearly proved that the transactions ascribed to Arthur in this city, relate, as far as they are

(1) Description of Winchester, by the Rev. T. Warton, p. 2. Anonymous Hist. vol. 1, p. 3, vol. 11, p. 8. Trussel's MSS. City Tables. Godson's Map.

(2) Vol. 1, p. 69, 73, 74.

true, to a different city of the same name in Monmouthshire. (1) Nor can we admit that our West Saxon kings resided in this castle; (2) having brought sufficient arguments to shew that there was no fortress belonging to this city during the whole Saxon period. (3) In short, we have ascertained the real date of its erection, namely, the reign of William I. (4) Indeed it would have been extraordinary if this conqueror, who relied chiefly on the fortresses which he himself built, or obliged his Norman vassals to build; (5) amongst whom he divided the greatest part of the kingdom, had left this his acknowledged capital, and the depository of his treasures and records, (6) without that security and engine of tyranny. This circumstance, and its being expressly termed, soon after its erection, a royal castle, (7) leave no doubt that it was built by the Conqueror himself, and not by any of his feudatory barons. The only circumstance recorded of this fortress, during the life of its founder, (8) is that it served as a place of confinement for the deposed prelate Stigand, (9) until the time of his death in 1072; (10) and that the council held by order of the Pope, for settling the respective claims of the sees of York and Canterbury, first sat in the royal chapel of this castle. (11) There can be no doubt that

(1) Viz. Caer Gwent, near Chepstow, called by the Romans Venta Silurum. See vol. 1, p. 77.

(2) Descript. Hist. ut supra.

(3) Excepting the cathedral itself and the monastery belonging to it. Vol. 1, p. 122, 188, 190.

(4) Ibid.

(5) "Ad castella omnes fatigabat construenda." Hen. Hunt.—"Castella permissit aedificare & pauperes valde opprimi." Chron. Sax. an. 1086.

(6) "Redacta est hæc descriptio (totius Angliæ) in uno volumine, positaque in archivis regiis apud Wintoniam." Hen. Knyghton, De Event. Ang. l. 11, c. iv. Ingulphus, &c.

(7) Annal. Wint. an. 1141.

(8) It is a mistake of Grose, vol. viii, alias Supplem. that the brave and beloved Waltheof was beheaded here; we shall point out the precise scene of that tragedy.

(9) "Habuit eum (Stigandum) in salvâ custodiâ, in castro Wyntonie." Tho. Rudb. Hist. Maj. an. 1070.

(10) Annal. Wint.

(11) "Ventilata est hæc causa prius apud Wentanam civitatem in capellâ regiâ, qua sita est in castello." Abbrev. Chronic. Rad. Diceto, an. 1072. Steph. Birchington. Vit. Lanfranci.

the royal treasures kept at Winchester, which we have remarked so many of the succeeding kings hastened hither to seize, were deposited in this fortress, as in the place of the greatest security; though, at the time we are speaking of, there was certainly a royal palace in another part of the city. (1) We have related the artifice which bishop De Blois had recourse to in order to get possession of this castle for his brother, king Stephen; and how that was defeated, and the place secured for the empress Mand, by the alertness of the chief magistrate of the city, who was then warden of it: (2) likewise the remarkable siege which that heroine here sustained against the army of king Stephen, and the extraordinary expedient she made use of to effect her escape, in causing herself, when the place was no longer tenable, to be carried out in a leaden coffin, as a corpse. (3) King Stephen having recovered his liberty, by being exchanged for Robert earl of Gloucester, who was taken prisoner upon the reduction of this castle, immediately set about repairing and augmenting its fortifications. This he performed on so grand a scale, that he is represented by many writers as absolutely the founder of it. (4) It is probable, that on this occasion the ditches were deepened and widened, the keep and the artificial mount on which it stands enlarged, and the beautiful chapel dedicated, under the name of this king's patron saint, built. It is not quite clear whether certain curious works, which Henry II. made in his palace of this city, and particularly Rosamund's bower, (5) relate to the castle, or to a palace which he built for himself at the north-west corner of the city. (6) When Richard I. was on the point of embarking upon his crusade, being intent on raising money by every possible means, he sold the custody, if not the property of

(1) Viz. in the present Square. See p. 104.

(2) Vol. I, p. 211.

(3) Ibid. p. 215.

(4) "Anno gratiæ 1142, qui erat septimus regni regis Stephani, idem rex Stephanus construxit castrum apud Wintoniam." Roger de Rov. Pars Prior. Hen. Hunt.

(5) "Ab exitu cameræ Rosamundæ, usque capellam S. Thomæ in Castro Winton." Pipe Rolls Hen. III, 1256, also Rob. Gloucester apud Warton, History of English Poetry, vol. I, p. 302.

(6) Trussel's MSS.

this castle, together with the title of earl of Winchester, to Godfrey de Lucy, our active and beneficent bishop. (1) At his return home, however, he reclaimed these and his other grants; soon after which, having chosen to have the ceremony of his second coronation performed in our cathedral, (2) he came previously to take up his residence in the castle. (3)

Amongst the errors of modern writers on this subject, there is none more gross and inexcusable than the assertion that this castle, when besieged in the reign of king John, by the dauphin of France, "being garrisoned by the citizens, held out against him, notwithstanding all his force and attempts to reduce it:" (4) since all the original writers who have written upon this subject unanimously agree that it was surrendered to the besiegers. (5) Henry III. or of Winchester, being partial to the place of his nativity, spent much of his time here. Although the castle was, at this period, his only place of residence in the city; (6) yet one part of it was now allotted to the judges, for holding their annual assizes. On these occasions Henry

(1) Roger de Hoveden.—It is an egregious mistake in Grose to say, that "when Richard went to the holy war in 1184, he committed this castle to the keeping of Hugh bishop of Durham." It is true, that in 1189, the real year of this expedition, he committed the care of Windsor castle to this bishop, but the latter never had any authority over the castle of our city. Hoveden. Chron. Brompt. &c.

(2) It is another error of Grose that Richard was crowned in *the castle*.

(3) See vol. I, p. 231.

(4) The Anonymous History of Winchester, vol. II, p. 69.—We cease to be surprised at any errors into which this writer falls. What, however, appears to us unaccountable is, that an author of Grose's character should have trusted to such an authority, as he does in almost all that he says of Winchester, and that he could transcribe such a palpable error as this without detecting it.

(5) "Rex tradidit castrum Wyntoniense Savarico de Maulyon ad custodiendum cum civitate; qui statim post decessum regis suburbium igne succendit, & recessit. Ludovicus obsedit castrum; & post multos dies, traditum est ei per consilium dicti Savarici; & postea, in brevi, cepit cætera castella Hantescyræ." Annal. Wint. ann. 1216. Rog. Hov. Mat. Paris. Knyghton, &c.

(6) It is probable that the castle near North-gate was by this time out of repair and deserted.

sometimes left Winchester, in order to make room for their accommodation, (1) and at other times he sat amongst them and assisted them in trying causes. (2) On one occasion we have seen that he here acted the part of a judge, in a manner which now seems extraordinary and despotic: but which was then applauded, and was certainly attended with the most beneficial consequences; by ordering the castle gates to be suddenly shut upon the principal inhabitants there assembled, impanelling a jury on the spot, in order to discover the numerous and powerful criminals who laid waste the neighbourhood, and casting this jury hard bound into the dungeon beneath the castle, for prevaricating in their verdict. (3) In the fatal sackage of Winchester by the army of Simon de Monfort, at the latter end of this reign, the advantage of the castle was experienced in the security which it afforded to many peaceable citizens and loyal friends of the king, who were there besieged without effect. (4) When, by the heroic exertions of his son prince Edward, Henry's cause became triumphant, the custody of this, as well as of the other castles throughout the kingdom, was committed by him to the prince, in reward of his services. (5) Coming soon after to the throne, Edward did not keep this fortress in his own hands, but gave it up to the care of the chief magistrate of the city, as had been the case in former reigns; during which period, it was chiefly remarkable as a state prison. Hither the archdeacon of Rochester was committed prisoner, for refusing to plead to certain charges brought against him, relating to some disturbances which had taken place in this city. (6) Hither the bishop of St. Andrews was sent, by the same Edward, to be confined in irons, in the strongest tower of the whole castle, (7) notwithstanding he was no more than a prisoner of war, having been taken fighting for the last stake of his native country, Scotland. Finally, here Gaston de Biern and Bernard Pereres were detained, by order of the same prince: the latter of whom

(1) "Recessit D. Henricus rex de Wintoniâ post Epiphaniam quia justitiarum itinerantes sedere debebant ibi." *Annal. Wigorn. ann. 1272. Annal. Wint. 1263.*

(2) Trussel's MSS.

(3) See vol. i, p. 253, 254.

(4) Trussel's MSS.

(5) *Annal. Wint. ann. 1268.*

(6) *Annal. Wigorn. 1274.*

(7) Rymer's *Fadera.*

was a hostage for the fidelity of the city of Bayonne, who happening to make his escape thence, the king was so incensed, that the liberties of the city were seized, and the magistrates would have undergone a severe punishment, but for the generous interference of queen Margaret, as before related. (1) During the tyranny of the ambitious Isabella, queen to Edward II. and of her worthless paramour Mortimer, this castle witnessed more disgusting scenes of cruelty. Upon its principal gate was placed the head of the brave old earl of Winchester, Despenser, who had been barbarously butchered by her command; (2) and the still more worthy and revered Edmund of Woodstock, uncle to Edward III. was here confined, and executed on a scaffold raised in the present parade, before the castle gate; after waiting from morning until evening, before a wretch hardy and profligate enough could be induced to stain himself with his blood. (3)

During the reign of that great king, Edward III. the castle of Winchester derives a lustre from the merits of one of its inferior officers, which it has not acquired from any of its chief governors. This was the celebrated Wykeham, who resided there a considerable time, in quality of secretary to Nicholas Uvedale, lord of the manor of Wickham, in this county, and constable of Winchester castle. (4) There are strong grounds also for believing that here was the scene of his first architectural essays, to which he was indebted for his subsequent rise in life. For it seems clear that he had given proof of his abilities in this kind, previously to his being recommended by his predecessor, Edington, to be clerk of the king's works; (5) in which capacity he soon after built Queenborough castle, and rebuilt the castle of Windsor. On the other hand we cannot discover any other opportunity he had, in his early years, of exercising his talent for building fortresses, except at this castle; in which he long held an employ, and and in which, about this very period, certain great alterations were made

(1) Trussel's MSS.

(2) See vol. I, p. 280.

(3) Ibid. p. 233.

(4) "Vice tabellionis constabulario castri Wintoniensis adhærebat." Tho. Chaundler. Vit. W. W. Ang. Sac. vol. II, p. 355.

(5) Lowth, Life of W. W. p. 19.

as we gather from the style of them. Almost all our succeeding monarchs honoured this fortress with their presence, for a longer or a shorter time. Here Henry IV. resided when he celebrated his nuptials with Joan of Brittany. Here Henry V. received in solemn state the pompous embassy sent to him by Charles the French king; the object of which was to terminate their differences, without the fatal expedient of the sword. Here also his pacific and pious son, Henry VI. was frequently found; being much attached to the learned and religious societies with which this city abounded.

We have seen that the next prince of the name of Henry had so great a veneration for this castle, under an idea, which by this time had generally obtained, of its having been built by his countryman and pretended ancestor, king Arthur; that he conducted his queen to it, for the purpose of her being there delivered of the child of which she was pregnant, and whom, in consequence of this opinion, he caused to be baptized by the name of Arthur. (1) Nothing need be added to the account we have already given of the visit paid to this castle by Henry VIII. and the emperor Charles V. (2) and of queen Mary's residence in it, when she came hither to solemnize her nuptials with Philip of Spain. (3)

This renowned castle having remained five centuries and a half, from the time of its erection, the property of the crown, was alienated from it by James I. who bestowed it in fee simple upon sir Benjamin Tichbourne and his descendants, in reward of the services which this loyal subject, being then sheriff of the county, had rendered to him at his accession to the throne of England. (4) Previously, however, to this donation, the castle had been the scene of certain solemn and singular judicial proceedings, already related. (5) Sir Richard Tichbourne, son to sir Benjamin, being not less attached to the cause of loyalty than his father had been, readily gave up this part of his inheritance in the grand rebellion, to be garrisoned as a royal fortress. He himself served therein as a subordinate

(1) Vol. i, p. 313.

(2) Ibid, p. 321.

(3) Ibid. p. 332.

(4) Ibid. p. 389.

(5) Ibid. p. 390.

officer under its governor, lord Ogle, when it was fruitlessly summoned to surrender by sir William Waller, and when afterwards it was successfully besieged by Oliver Cromwell. (1) This great general, finding himself master of it, acted in the same manner by it as he had done by the other places of strength which had fallen into his hands; he dismantled it, by blowing up its fortifications; leaving, however, the chapel standing, and a sufficient quantity of the habitable part of it, to form a respectable dwelling-house. This, sir William Waller, whose sister was married to the real owner of it, sir Richard Tichbourne, procured a grant of from the parliament, in reward of services in this cause. Either this sir William, or his son, of the same name, sold the chapel to certain feoffees, for the purpose of a public hall for the county of Hants; and the rest of the castle to the corporation of Winchester. (2) Nothing, however, can be more clear than that the whole of these transactions must have been considered as invalid at the Restoration; nevertheless, different causes, the chief of which was his professing the Catholic religion, prevented sir Henry Tichbourne, who by this time had succeeded to his father sir Richard, from recovering this part of his property, though he continued still to keep up his claim to it. In 1682, Charles II. having resolved to build for himself in this city a more magnificent palace than any existing in the kingdom; began with purchasing the rights of the respective claimants to the site of the ancient castle, which he preferred as the spot on which to erect it. The corporation were content to receive five shillings as the purchase-money for their property in the same, as also for the old materials which were found upon it: but sir Henry Tichbourne sold his claim for a much more valuable consideration; of which, however, neither he, nor his descendants, in the changeable times that afterwards followed, were ever able to obtain the payment. (3)

The erection of the King's-house contributed more than even the violence of Cromwell to the disappearing of the ancient castle. Not only whatever habitable remains existed on that spot, or in its neighbourhood, were demo-

(1) Vol. 1, p. 409, &c.

(2) Ibid. p. 421, 431.

(3) Ibid. p. 431.

lished, in order to afford materials for the new building; but also the greatest part of the scattered ruins were employed for the same purpose. The first stone of this magnificent palace was laid March 23, 1683, by king Charles in person; who, during the remainder of his reign, spent much of his time in this city, for the purpose of inspecting and forwarding the work. Upon the death of this prince, February 6, 1685, an immediate stop was put to the building by his successor, James II. It was equally neglected by king William; but queen Ann, after surveying it herself, caused an estimate to be made of the expence necessary for completing it; which she fully intended to carry into execution, in favour of her husband, George prince of Denmark, upon whom it was settled, had he lived until she could afford the sums necessary for this purpose. The first public use to which this noble edifice appears to have been applied, was that of a place of confinement for French prisoners, in the war of 1756; during which, 5000 of them at a time were sometimes detained in it. In the American war, it was applied to the same purpose; and was successively occupied by French, Spanish, and Dutch prisoners. Soon after the rupture with the French in 1779, one of our cruizers having taken the *St. Julie*, an hospital ship belonging to that nation; the numerous sick men, with the rest of the crew, were conveyed from Poole, where they were landed, to the King's-house in this city, and thus brought into it a malignant pestilence, which swept off the prisoners in great numbers. Their bodies being interred in the castle ditches, contributed greatly to reduce their depth. To judge of the violence of this infection, it may be sufficient to mention, that twelve poor captives have been known to die of it in the course of as many hours. Nor was the distemper confined to the prisoners; for four out of the five medical gentlemen, who at a particular period attended them, fell victims to it; Mr. Kentish, the head surgeon, alone escaping. The same was the fate of the agent of government, Alderman Smith, and of most of the turnkeys; as likewise of the Rev. Mr. Nolan, the Catholic clergyman, who performed the duties of his religion to the dying, until he himself was seized with the pestilence. His successor in this charitable office likewise caught the in

fection, but was providentially restored, after his life had been despaired of. Notwithstanding so many persons connected with the prison died of this disorder, in different parts of the city, yet it did not extend itself amongst the inhabitants at large; which circumstance was chiefly ascribed to the purity of the air. At length, by the use of oxygen, and the practice of washing the bodies and clothes of the prisoners, and of cleansing the floors and walls of the prison with vinegar and whitewash, under the directions of Dr. Carmichael Smith, the infection was subdued; not less to the joy of the citizens, than of the prisoners.

In the year 1792, the anti-christian faction, which had got possession of the government of France, having murdered a part of its clergy, and banished the rest, who refused to be dependant upon it for the exercise of their spiritual functions; several thousands of these conscientious exiles were landed on the southern coast of this kingdom. In this their extreme distress they were charitably relieved by the nation at large; with whom his Majesty generously concurring, permitted a certain number of them, to the amount of 700, and at one time of 1000, to reside in this noble mansion. In this situation, one of their first concerns was to express their deep sense of the obligations they felt themselves under to the sovereign and people of England, and to testify the same to posterity. With this view, and being aided in the expence by the munificence of an illustrious nobleman, (1) they erected a marble tablet in the chamber which they made use of for a chapel, with an inscription, expressive of their gratitude, which we shall give beneath. (2) So large a body of clergy, of the above

(1) The Marquis of Buckingham.

(2) FAVENTE DEO OPT. MAX.

*Diu sospes & incolumis,
In suorum decus ac delicias,
In exterorum admirationem & perfugium,*

VIVAT

GEORGIUS III.

*Mag. Britan. &c. Rex piissimus!
Æterno pacis beneficio gaudeat!
Jugi pietatis, scientiæ, & opum laude*

*By the favour of God
May GEORGE THE THIRD,
The pious King of Great Britain,
Live long in safety,
The delight and ornament of his own country,
The admiration and protector of foreigners.
May the generous British Nation
Rejoice in the blessing of eternal peace,
And be ever famous*

description, being thus collected here, formed a kind of seminary, in which the members lived together in common, during the space of four years; with a regularity and piety, which probably was not surpassed in any community at that time existing in christendom. (1) At length, in the

Efflorescat,
Nobilissima Gens Britannica,
Quæ
Politicarum immemor querelarum,
Clerum Gallicanum
Innumeris calamitatibus oppressum,
Patriis sedibus expulsum,
Terris & alto jactatum,
Almæ Parentis instar
Hospitali gremio excepit benignissimè,
Fovit tenerrimè,
Protexit studiosissimè,
Voluntariâ cunctorum regni ordinum sub-
scriptione
Aluit generosissimè.
Sit etiam longûm felix,
Præstantissimus senator Britannicus
JOHANNES WILMOT,
Publicæ munificentiae
Unâ cum selectissimis
Et integerrimis viris,
Dispensator prudentissimus!
Hæc ardentibus votis
A supremo rerum moderatore
Efflagitat Clerus Gallicanus
Per universas
Britannici imperii plagas dispersus.
Hæc imprimis, anhelanti pectore;
Ad aras supplex provoluta,
Impetrare studet indesinenter
Ejusdem cleri pars non exigua,
Regalibus istis in adibus,
Insigni munere, collecta,
Quæ
Hoc leve gratissimi pignus animi
Ad perpetuam rei memoriam,
Exaratum voluit.
Anno reparatæ salutis M,DCC,XCIII.
Atque XXXIII GEORGH III.
Altius hæc animis, quàm marmore sculpta
manebunt.

For it's piety, it's learning, and it's riches.
Which,
Forgetful of it's rival enmity,
Like a fond parent,
Received kindly into it's hospitable bosom,
Protected carefully,
Maintained liberally,
By a voluntary subscription of all ranks of men,
And cherished tenderly,
No inconsiderable part
Of the Gallic Clergy,
Driven out of their native country,
And tossed about by sea and land.
May the excellent British Senator
JOHN WILMOT
Enjoy constant happiness;
May happiness attend also
Those choice and upright men,
Who are, together with him,
The prudent dispensers
Of the public munificence.
Thus the Gallic Clergy,
Scattered throughout the British Empire,
Eagerly implores the Supreme Governor of
all things,
Thus also do those of the same Clergy
Continually pray, prostrate before their altars,
Who, by a singular favour, lived collected
In this Royal House.
They
Have caused to be engraven
This small pledge of their gratitude,
For a perpetual memorial,
In the year of our Lord 1793,
And in the thirty-third year of the reign of
George the Third.

The fond record of these munificent acts will remain much longer on the tablet of our memories, than the record of them on the tablet of marble.

(1) It is an easy matter at the present day, when so many persons of the first respectability

year 1796, a large central barrack in this county becoming indispensably necessary for the public service, the French clergy were placed in large houses at Reading, Thame, &c. In the mean time the King's-house was fitted up for the residence of troops, where from two to three thousand of them are more commodiously lodged than perhaps in any other barrack in the kingdom.

Having given this summary account of the Castle and King's-house, it is proper now to survey them, in the best manner we are able. The whole area of the castle was about 850 feet in length, north and south, and 250 in breadth, east and west. It became, however, much narrower at the north extremity, where a wall which followed the slope of the ditch, united it with the West-gate. Of the above-mentioned space, the Keep or Donjon, which was at the same time the strong part of the fortress, and the chief habitable part of it, occupied a square of about 100 feet; being situated on the summit at the south end, and communicating with the south fortifications of the city by a similar wall to that described above. The keep was flanked with a tower at each of its four corners, and a fifth tower stood over the entrance of it, fronting the north. But the castle-gate, leading into the fortifications at large, looked to the west, and stood near the centre of the west front of the present King's-house. Directly opposite to this, on the other side of the ditch, was a barbican (1) or turret, in the nature of an

are living witnesses of the conduct of the said clergy, during their residence in this city, to obtain the most irrefragable testimonies of their irreproachable conduct, during their residence in the King's-house. An official testimony of this nature, by the Rev. Dr. Sturges, was published in the different periodical papers, and will be preserved to posterity in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. On the present occasion we shall satisfy ourselves with copying the conclusion of an ample certificate of the magistrates of this city, which was granted in consequence of some aspersions cast on the conduct of the French clergy in this city from a distant part of the kingdom;—"Their deportment (that of the French clergy) in general was peaceable, humble, and apparently grateful for the benefits they received. Thus much I am justified in announcing to the public, as having seen their deportment at Winton.

J. N. SILVER, Mayor. Signed also, J RIDDING. GEO. EARLE. R. H. LLOYD.
Winton, Jan. 27, 1797.

(1) "Infra portam et birbecam in castro Wintoniensi." Pipe Rolls, Hen. III. Warton's Hist of Eng. Poet. vol. 1.



East View of West Gate .



North West View of the Cathedral .



lat-post for giving notice of approaching danger; the front ground of which has so often been dyed with noble blood, being the usual place of execution for the state prisoners confined in the castle. The aforesaid gate consisted of a strong double tower; besides which there were three other towers, at convenient distances, to strengthen the north part of the fortifications, as the five towers of the keep protected the south part of it. (1) The original form of all these towers was square, and the materials of them was flint, or other coarse stone, with a very firm kind of mortar; being the usual way of building such fortresses in the 11th and 12th centuries, as may be seen at the east end of Wolvesey ruins, at Porchester, and other castles of nearly the same date. In consequence, however, of an accidental discovery made in 1797, by a workman who was digging for flints, (which discovery was zealously followed up by the industry and ingenuity of some military gentlemen then in garrison at the King's house, (2)) it was incontestably proved, that the two towers of the keep, which were principally in sight of the city, namely, those to the north-east and to the south-east, had been altered into a circular, or rather into an oval form, according to a fashion which prevailed in the ages subsequent to their first erection. The inside of the north-east tower, presents, truncated, an oval chamber, where it joined the body of the keep; being 24 feet in length and 12 in breadth. The walls were nine feet thick, and faced and lined with polished free stone. It was neatly vaulted; the brackets, to the number of six, which supported it, and part of the springers, highly finished, being then remaining. The stone steps, leading into a kind of cellar beneath, which was probably one of the castle dungeons, were then also to be seen. The shape,

(1) See our East and West Views of the Castle, annexed to the View of the King's-house, vol. i. We have said, in our preface to that volume, that our ideas of the castle are gathered "from the slight sketch of it in Speed's Chorography, from an attentive consideration of the ruins, ditches, and situation of the same, from the discoveries that were made in digging on the spot for that express purpose, and from certain hints which occur in ancient writers concerning it."

(2) Chiefly Captain Cartwright and Captain Howard, of the West York regiment of militia.

materials, and workmanship of this and the other tower in the same style, added to the circumstances already mentioned, induce us to believe that it was altered into its present form by Wykeham, who otherwise appears to have been a military, before he became an ecclesiastical architect. The north-west tower seems to have been the most celebrated in extent, and had a terrace adjoining to it in the inside. The keep, when in its original military state, had an exterior ballium or glacis, fortified with walls and turrets, encompassing it on the west and south sides. The ditch varied in its depth and breadth. From the level of the keep, where the ground was the highest, it must have been at least 100 feet deep, and as many broad; for it is certain that all the military ditches of the castle, as well as those of the city, were dug to such a depth as to admit the waters of the river to flow freely through them.(1) The only part of this famous castle which has entirely escaped the destructive rage of Oliver Cromwell, is the ancient church or chapel of St. Stephen; which, by the style and materials of the outside work, and its being built without a great east or west window, and by other tokens, appears to have been erected as early as the reign of the king of that name. The inside of it has been altered and decorated in the Gothic style, probably about the reign of Edward III. It is 110 feet in length, and consists of a nave and side aisles: the effect of it, however, is lost, in consequence of the alterations which have been made in it for the purposes of the courts of justice, which are there held for the county of Hants.

The chief curiosity in this ancient chapel, now termed the County Hall, is Arthur's Round Table, as it is called. This hangs up at the east end of it, consisting of stout oak plank; which, however, is perforated with many bullets, supposed to have been shot by Cromwell's soldiers. It is painted with the figure of that prince, and the names of his twenty-four knights, as they have been collected from the romances of the 14th and 15th centuries. The costume and characters here seen, are those of the

(1) Trussel's MSS. This follows also, from what Camden says, in his account of Winchester, of "a conflux of waters flowing down from the West gate." See Britannia.

reign of Henry VIII. when this table appears to have been first painted; the style of which has been copied each time that it has since been painted afresh. At the time we are speaking of, and even in the middle of the 15th century, this table was certainly believed to have been actually made and placed in the castle by its supposed founder, the renowned British prince Arthur, who lived in the early part of the 6th century. Hence it was exhibited as Arthur's Table, by Henry VIII. to his illustrious guest the emperor Charles; and hence the poet Drayton, who was born in his reign, sings of it as follows:

*And so great Arthur's seat ould Winchester prefers
Whose ould Round Table yet she vaunteth to be hers.*

Notwithstanding what is here advanced, it is plain that this tale did not gain universal credit, at least among the learned, at the beginning of the 16th century; (1) and we have otherwise certain proofs that the *Tabula Rotunda*, or Round Table, was first introduced into this country by king Stephen. (2) It was so called because the knights, when they assembled to perform their feasts of chivalry, in the 12th and the succeeding ages, used to eat at a table of this form; to prevent disputes for precedence amongst those high mettled champions. Hence the tournaments themselves obtained the name of *The Round Table*, by which we find them frequently called in the records of the times when they were prevalent. (3) We have reason then to suppose that the real founder, or at least the great improver of the castle, king Stephen, and not the pretended founder of it, Arthur, made the present table; which supposition, whilst it takes off six centuries from its

(1) "Si accolæ falsâ quâdam superstitione majorum non errant, Rotundam Mensam in castro Wintoniensi, ad æternam magni Arturis memoriam, solemniter conservatam aspeximus, anno 1559." Lesley, Episcop. Rossen. ap. Trussel.

(2) "Sane hujus modi concertatio militaris nunquam in Angliâ fuisse nōscitur, nisi in diebus regis Stephani." Gul. Newbrigen. l. v, c. iv.

(3) "Factum est hastiludium, quod *Tabula Rotunda* vocatur, ubi periit strenuissimus miles Herwaldus de Muntenni." Mat. West. ad. an. 1252.—"Anno 1259 Rotunda Tabula sedit apud Warwyk." Annal. Wigorn.—"Anno 1328 apud Bedfordiam Rotunda Tabula tenebatur per Rogerum de Mortuomari." Knyghton, De Event. Ang.

supposed antiquity, still leaves it an existence of seven centuries and an half, enough to render it a curious and valuable monument.

We shall not add much to the account which has been given in our first volume, (1) of the King's-house with the offices and grounds belonging to it; especially as an inspection of our plate, taken from the original drawing of its architect, sir Christopher Wren, will present in a moment a more accurate idea of it than it is in the power of words to convey. We shall content ourselves with mentioning what cannot be gathered from that view; that there were marble pillars in readiness, presented by the grand duke of Tuscany, for the interior decorations; that the centre cupola was to have risen 30 feet above the roof of the building; that there were to have been chapels under the two smaller cupolas, one for the king, the other for the queen, who was a princess of Portugal and a Catholic; that the main corps of the building, exclusive of detached offices, measures 326 feet north and south, and 216 feet east and west; and that from the centre gate, which would have stood in Southgate-street, a broad street, built on each side with elegant houses, was to have been continued in a line down to the west front of the cathedral.

The lane, by which we proceeded from South-gate to view the ruins of the ancient castle, leads us to the church-yard of St. James's, a little beyond the present military parade. Here, in the suburbs of the city, formerly stood the parish church of the same name, the foundations of which are found in digging in the middle of the ground. This was a place of great devotion, for reasons which we cannot at present discover, even in the Saxon period; as we find that the monks of both the grand monasteries, namely, of the cathedral priory and St. Grimbald's abbey, were in the practice of going in solemn procession thither, especially on Palm Sunday. (2) This was a matter which appeared to be of so much consequence, that when the abbey was removed to Hyde, in the year 1110; the manner of making this procession was agreed upon and settled by charter between the

(1) Vol. i, p. 443.

(2) Charta de Inspex. ap. Dugd. Lat. vol. i.

two convents. (1) Hence we learn, that on such occasions the abbot of Hyde, with a few of his monks, came to the cathedral, and thence proceeded with the monks of the latter and the bishop, by the way of South-gate and through the aforesaid lane, until they came opposite to the castle gate; where they waited for the procession of the rest of the monks of Hyde, who probably went from their house up Swan-lane, and round the north-west corner of the walls, to meet them. The two bodies being thus united together, they made their station, as it is called, at St. James's, by the performance of a stated service. They then came together down the Romsey road, to the suburb of St. Valery, where the present obelisk stands; whence the Hyde monks returned home the same road by which they came, whilst those of St. Swithun's continued their procession through West-gate, and down the High-street to the cathedral. (2) In later years, it appears that one Adam Morton built a monastery at St. James's; (3) which, from its being called *De Albo Monasterio*, or of the White Monastery, (4) was probably occupied by Cistercians or Norbertines. We are not able to trace the history of this church any lower, except that it appears to have been considered as a place of peculiar devotion at the Reformation by the Catholics of Winchester and the neighbourhood; who accordingly chose it for their burying-ground, (5) to which purpose their descendants have applied it ever since.

(1) *Charta de Inspex. ap. Dugd. Lat. vol. i.*

(2) These particulars seem to be clearly made out from the said charter, with the help of an accurate knowledge of the several places therein mentioned.

(3) Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.

(4) "*Sancti Jacobi de Albo Monasterio.*" *Regist. Orlton.*

(5) Independently of the circumstances mentioned above; this may be gathered from the epitaph of one of the Tichbournes, who was born before the change of religion in this country; which epitaph is still legible on one of the stones in this church-yard. *Here lies interred Richard Tichborne, esq. aged fourscore and sixteen years, who died Dec. 20, 1636, and desired that his body might be buried here.*—The same predilection for this spot appears in other epitaphs which are to be met with, as in the following:—*H. S. E. Elizabeth Arundell, relict of John Arundell, esq. of Llanbern. She was daughter of Wm. Brook,*

We descend from the lofty situation of this cemetery, the same way by which the monks returned in their procession to the city, being now part of the Romsey road; until we come to the ancient parish of St. Valery, where now stands the Obelisk. Adjoining to this parish, in a field, on the right hand of the road to Stockbridge, was another very ancient church and cemetery; the latter being recorded as the scene of a miraculous event, in the transactions of St. Brinstan, bishop of this see, in the early part of the tenth century. Here skeletons continue to be dug up; and not long ago, in improving the adjoining road, two earthen chalices, such as were buried with priests, were discovered. In a field opposite to the site of St. Anastatia's church-yard, called Oram's Arbour, are vast intrenchments, which seem to have been cast up by the royal garrison of the castle and city in 1614.(1) The obelisk, however, is a more mournful memento of mortality than either of the above-mentioned cemeteries. We have already detailed the circumstances which gave occasion to its erection.(2) These being also

esq. of Longwood, and was buried here by her own appointment.—Here lyeth Alice Lewis, relict of Dr. William Lewis, prebendary of this cathedral. Died 23 Sept. 1670. She was buried here by her own desire.—N. B. This Dr. Lewis was the master of St. Cross who was turned out of his place in the grand Rebellion. His lady was a Catholic, and educated her children in her own religion.

It will gratify many of our readers to add a few more of these epitaphs, being for the most part unknown and hardly legible. The two first of them relate to persons mentioned in this work, vol. 1, p. 434, 385.—*Bernardus Howard Norfolciæ Ducum sanguine illustris, Christianâ pietate morumque probitate illustrior. Obdormivit in Domino 22 Apr. 1735.—H.S.E. R.P. Paulus Atkinson Franciscanus; qui 15 Oct. 1729. ætat. 74, in Castro de Hurst vitam finivit, postquam ibidem 30 peregerat annos.—In Mem. optimi viri Rogeri Corham, qui difficillimis temporibus, animi integritatem ita servavit ut nulli infensus, omnibus charus semper haberetur.* Other names distinguished by the rank or merit of the deceased which occur here, are those of Talbot, Ballasyse, Sheldon, Wells, Stonor, Mannoek, Jerningham, Tancred, Stapleton, Webbe, Curzon, Perkins, Wyborne, Laey, Mathew, Duncomb, Monington, Weld, Simeon, Constable, Metham, Gahagan, Greenwood, Lynch, Fitzgerald, Egan, Cook, Meader, Wheble, Moody, Cave, Vynn, Charker, White, Collins, Milner, Challoner, Hyde, Berry, Martin, Savage, Nolan, &c.

(1) See vol. 1, p. 404.

(2) Ibid. p. 428.

expressed in the inscriptions upon its sides, we shall at present satisfy ourselves with transcribing them.

On the West Side.—This monument is erected by a society of natives on the very spot of ground to which the markets were removed, and whose basis is the very stone on which exchanges were made, whilst the city lay under the scourge of the destroying pestilence, in the year 1669. (1)

On the South Side.—A society originally established for the relief of their fellow citizens, who happily survived that dreadful visitation, but were reduced by it to the utmost distress. Their first meeting was held August 26, in the following year.

On the East Side.—Their ninetieth feast was celebrated with uncommon joy August 23, 1759, a year auspicious and glorious to these kingdoms, for plenty restored and the peaceful enjoyment of all national blessings, and for the renown and triumphs of their victorious arms through all quarters of the globe.

The North Side contains the city arms, with the following names:—Thomas Brereton, John Childs, John Barton, John Barret, stewards.

Being arrived at the West-gate of the city, we shall proceed down the High-street to its opposite extremity; pointing out, as we proceed, the several antiquities which at present exist, or which we can discover to have heretofore existed, in it; as also noticing the several streets that branch from the High-street, north and south, for the most part in straight lines, down to the very walls of the city.

(1) This obelisk having been erected within the last 40 years, cannot be considered as in itself of any great authority. We have no difficulty, therefore, in adhering to the date we have assigned in the passage last referred to, and which is grounded on the most authentic MSS. as being that of the chief prevalence of the plague at Winchester, in opposition to the date which occurs on the obelisk.

CHAP. IX.

West-Gate, with the adjoining Fortifications of the City.—Ancient Streets and Churches in the Upper Part of Winchester.—The ancient Jews' Synagogue.—The Hall of the Guild of Merchants.—Antiquities there kept.—Defects in the modern Building, and the Inscription there. Ancient Streets and Churches in the Middle Part of Winchester.—The City Cross.—Former Church of St. Mary Calendar.—Collegiate Church of St. Maurice.—Antiquities in the Lower Part of Winchester.—The Franciscan Friars.—The Collegiate Chapel and Carnary of the Holy Trinity.—The Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary.—History of the Foundation of that Female Convent.—Its various Fortune.—Refounded by Henry VIII.—Finally dissolved by him.—St. John's House.—Its first Foundation as an Hospital by St. Brinstan.—Its second Establishment by John Devenish.—Its Dissolution by Henry VIII.—Its third Charitable Institution by Richard Lamb, Esq.—The present Assembly Room, &c.—Convent of the Dominicans.—The East-Gate.

BEFORE we pass through West-gate, the picturesque ruins of the city-wall, intermingled with shrubs and ash-trees, on the north side, claim our attention. Not far from the gate we discover the ruins of a turret, which, with another of the same form, protected the intermediate space of the wall, as far as what is called the Hermit's Tower, at the north extremity. (1). The last mentioned we discover to have been a Juliet or round tower. The ditch beneath this wall, and as far as the north gate, being immediately under the palace built by Henry II. was a stew for the king's fish. The prior of the cathedral was obliged to keep this constantly well stocked

(1) See Speed's Sketch of the City.

with fish, from the extensive fisheries of the monastery at Botley and elsewhere. (1) To answer such a purpose, the ditch must have had grates extending across it, at North-gate and at West-gate. At the latter of these the waters ran out of the city ditch into the castle ditch. There is no doubt, that before the Conqueror's time the city wall and ditch continued on the south side of the gate, in a straight line, and in the same stile of building, with that on the north side; but a citadel being indispensably necessary for his purposes, one was here added to it; by which means the Roman angular form was destroyed at this south-west end, as was the case with the south-east end soon after, from a similar cause, namely, the erection of Wolvesey castle by bishop De Blois. Adhering to the outside of the gate are the remains of a Saxon chapel, called *St. Mary's in the Ditch*. (3) The east end, consisting of a circular arch supported by Saxon pillars, and enriched with the wavy moulding, is, or was very lately, in tolerable preservation. The main substance of the gate appears to be of the same date with the chapel; but the machicolation at the top of it, for throwing down burning and other destructive matter on the besiegers immediately below; the grooves for the sliding of the herse or portcullis; the busts; the shields inscribed in quatrefoils; and in general the facing of the whole, is of a much later workmanship. Under the gate, on the south side of it, is a dungeon, and over it part of a dwelling-house. We are indebted to this lucky circumstance for the preservation of so much of the honours and ornaments of the city. Had it not been for the expence of indemnifying the proprietors of the tenement, this gate would have been sacrificed by the unfeeling commissioners of the pavement, when they demolished the others.

Having passed through the gate, we find on the right or south side, the present ordinary way up to the mount on which the castle and King's-house stand. This, however, was not the case formerly; nothing presented itself

(1) "Prior S. Swithun, &c. De fossato regis extra portam borealem ibidem custodiendo, & piscibus instaurandis ad commodum regis." Pat. anno 4. Edw. I. ap. Gale, p. 7.

(2) *Stæ Mariæ de fossato, extra port. occid.* Regist. Pontissar.

to the view of the spectator in that direction, but deep military ditches, lofty stone walls, and huge projecting towers. In order to pass from the city into the castle, it was absolutely necessary to go either through South-gate or West-gate. Somewhere on the left or north side of the High-street, not far from the walls, seem to have stood the churches of *St. Peter Whitebread*, (1) and of *All Saints in the Vineyard*. (2) On the same side of the way, in the High-street itself, existed, until within these five years, the best modern house in the whole city, called *West-gate House*, belonging to the family of the Townsends. It was taken down and sold by piece-meal for want of a tenant; which was no sooner performed, than many persons presented themselves who would gladly have rented it. On the opposite side immediately below the castle ditch was an open space. *Gar-street*, which first occurs on that side of the way, in its original extent, from High-street to near South-gate, appears to have contained four churches or chapels, *St. Mary's*, *St. Andrew's*, *St. Margaret's*, and *St. Paul's*. Nearly facing this, on the other side of the High-street, is *Staple Garden*; so called because it was originally the garden of the palace in that neighbourhood, and afterwards became the staple or market of wool, which was established there, for this part of the kingdom, by Edward III. At the same period proper warehouses were built, and scales, weights, &c. provided for carrying it on; some part of which were to be seen on the spot at the beginning of the seventeenth century. (3) At present it has nothing

(1) *S. Petri de Albo Pane.*

(2) *Omnium Sanctorum in Vineis.*—N. B. The existence and situation of the several churches or chapels, mentioned in the following survey of the city, are chiefly ascertained from the Episcopal Registers, from Trussel's MSS. and from Title Deeds, which we have perused. In some instances, however, we have borrowed from Godsou's large Map of Winchester, or from certain probable conjectures, where no better authority was to be procured. We shall give in our Appendix a complete list of these, and of all other such edifices which we have been enabled to discover, with the authorities on which their existence rests.

(3) Trussel says that the king's beam, &c. for weighing, was to be seen at the warehouse in this garden when he wrote.

to shew, except a few cottages, and the extensive new gaol for the county, which is built upon Mr. Howard's plan, and regulated according to his ideas. We come next to *Gold-street*, now called *Southgate-street*, because it led to the gate of that name. It lies on the south side of the High-street, and, like Gar-street, was open towards the castle, containing the like number of churches, viz. *St. Mary Odes*, joining to South-gate, on the west side; *All Hallows*, or All Saints, a little higher up, on the same side; and those of *St. Nicholas* and *St. Boniface*: not to mention *St. Clement's*; the remains of which are still visible, in the walls of the blacksmith's shop, at the intersection of *St. Clement's* with Southgate-street. Nearly opposite to the last-mentioned street is *Jewry-street*. Here a great number of Jews resided in the 12th and 13th centuries, and here they had their synagogue, (1) until the popular commotions, so frequent in those ages against that devoted people, and at last the great slaughter of them by the barons, when they stormed and sacked Winchester, in the reign of Henry III, (2) seem to have extirpated them out of this ancient metropolis. The modern name of the street is *Gaol-street*. In fact here stands the grand front and principal part of the gaol, which has just been rebuilt in a style of great magnificence and strength, under the direction of Mr. Money Penny, an architect celebrated for several other erections of the same kind. The gaol is known to have stood in the same place as early as the reign of James I. The George inn, at the entrance of this street, is of still higher antiquity; having existed on the same spot as early, at least, as the reign of Edward IV. There formerly stood in this street a church of *St. Michael*, (3) and another of *St. Margaret*, which latter was placed in the garden, just behind the chapel in *St. Peter's-street*.

The next street we come to lies on the right hand, and is now called

(1) "Ther is a strete in Winchester that leadith right from the High-strete to the North-gate, caullid the Jury, by cause the Jues did inhabit it, and had their Synagogue ther." Leland, Itin.

(2) Ibid. Dictum de Kenilworth.

(3) *S. Michaelis in Judaismo.*

after *St. Thomas*, but its ancient name was *Calpe-street*. The church itself, from which it receives its name, was not dedicated to *St. Thomas*, but to *St. Petrocus*, an ancient British or Welch saint of the 12th century. We cannot help remarking that the adoption of the British saints by the converted Saxons, of which there are innumerable instances, besides the present, is a proof that the two nations, whatever political jealousies they entertained of each other, certainly professed the same religion. Another church, in the same street, bore the name of *St. Elphege*. At the junction of this with the High-street, on the east side, stands *The Hall of the Guild of Merchants of Winchester*; which guild or society is the most ancient institution of that nature that does exist, or is known to have existed, in the kingdom: having been first incorporated by king Ethelwolph, father of Alfred the Great. (1) It is now vulgarly called *The Town Hall*; and though a modern building, contains, besides the city archives, many curious articles of antiquity, engravings of which we have presented to the public in our Miscellaneous Plate, (2) such as the original Winchester bushel, given by Edgar; a later bushel, given by Henry VII; with other measures, both for quantity and length, given by the same or other princes; the ancient seals, &c. In the tower of this hall hangs the Curfew bell, which continues to sound the time of extinguishing fires and lights, at eight o'clock in the evening, and of lighting them again at four in the morning; according to the ordinance of the Conqueror, which he first established in this city, seven centuries and a half backwards. The present hall, which was rebuilt at the beginning of the last century, is neatly fitted up in the inside; and would not be an inelegant structure on the outside, were not the bold Tuscan pillars on which it stands, totally buried amidst the vulgar shop windows and bulks which have been suffered to project between them. The front of it is ornamented with a large clock, extending into the middle of the street, the gift of sir William Paulet; and with an elegant statue of queen Ann, presented to the city by George Bridges, esq. who was

(1) Trussel's MSS.

(2) Vol. I.

its representative in seven successive parliaments. We may form a conjecture concerning the political sentiments of the donor from the inscription placed under the statue, which is the following:—ANNO PACIFICO ANNA REGINA. 1713. (1)

A short space below Calpe-street is *Fleshmonger-street*; (2) so called of old, because here stood the chief shambles of the city. But these having been long removed elsewhere, the street has been named, from an ancient parish church of St. Peter, (3) which stood in the middle of it, *St. Peter's-street*. (4) On the site of this church of St. Peter stands the present Catholic chapel, and the house of its incumbent, called *St. Peter's-house*. Other churches which stood in this street were those of *St. Michael*, *St. Martin*, and *St. Swithun*. Of these the first-mentioned stood at the north end, on the bowling-green; and the last near the south end; the foundations of which enclose a garden, that from the term of *Good-begot*, or rather *God-begate*, which occurs in the title deeds of it, seems to have been included in the ample charter of privileges granted by St. Edward the Confessor to the cathedral priory. (5) The most shewy modern house amongst the few that remain in this street, out of 140 houses of which it once consisted, (6) is that built towards the south end of it by sir Christopher Wren, for madame de Querouaille, the beautiful duchess of Portsmouth, and favourite mistress of Charles II. whose bust appears in front of it, whilst he himself was erecting the King's-house for his royal palace.

At length we arrive at a monument of antiquity which still exists in the High-street, and which indeed is one of the few things of the same kind

(1) *Queen Ann in the peaceful year 1713*. This is the intended meaning of the inscription; by which we learn that he approved of the peace, which one party so much applauded, and the other so much villified. But according to the true lapidary style, this inscription would convey the following sense:—*Queen Ann dedicates this statue to the year of peace*.

(2) *Via Carnificum*.

(3) *S. Petri de Macello*.

(4) In the front of St. Peter's-house is the following inscription, which appears to have been placed by its religious and bountiful builder, Roger Corham, Esq.—THIS IS ST. PETER'S STREET.

(5) Rudborne, Hist. Maj. l. iv, c. v.

(6) The Petition of the City to Henry VI. Anno Reg. 30. In Turri Lond.

that has escaped destruction, namely, the City Cross. This stands a little below the street last-mentioned, on the south side of the High-street. Not only the magnificent Gothic arch-work, in three distinct stories, remains entire; but the cross itself is exalted over it, at the top of an ornamented shaft. (1) The present monument does not appear to have suffered any material injury, except from the corroding tooth of time; a circumstance which occurs in few structures of this nature in other cities. Crosses were erected, in ancient times, for a variety of purposes; but the general intent of such as, like this, were erected in market-places, was to pay a public homage to the religion of Christ crucified, and to inspire men with a sense of morality and piety amidst the ordinary transactions of life. We discover that the cross before us, when perfect, was exceedingly light and elegant. From the style of its architecture, it appears not to be more ancient than the reign of Henry VI. who, as we learn, instituted a *Fraternity of the Holy Cross*, as it was called, which erected many structures of this nature in different parts of the kingdom. (2) The figure in the canopied niche, is that of a young man in the Roman dress, with short hair, and the breast uncovered; bearing a palm branch, the sure token of a martyr, in his right hand; and in his left, a small square mass, which, in its original perfect state, might have represented a book, or the model of a church, or, in short, a variety of other things. This statue has hitherto passed for that of St. John the Evangelist; (3) but it wants the appropriate emblems of this saint. (4) It is much more probable, that it was intended for St. Laurence, the Roman martyr, the patron of the church close to which it stands; or St. Amphiballus, the British martyr, to whom the

(1) This shaft was much more ornamented formerly than it is at present. In our Miscellaneous Plate, vol. 1, we have endeavoured to restore it to what we have reason to believe was its exact original appearance.

(2) Camden's *Britannia*, Berkshire.

(3) See the Anonymous History, vol. 1, p. 227.

(4) Viz. a chalice in the left hand, with a serpent issuing out of it, and the right raised up in the action of benediction.

cathedral was once dedicated. We are to observe, that this statue formerly stood on the south side of the cross; to the obscurity of which situation we are probably indebted for its preservation, when those on the three more exposed sides were demolished. At length, within the memory of many inhabitants now living, this figure was removed to the niche on the west side, where we still behold it. We have already mentioned the gratitude which is due, not only from antiquaries, but also from the citizens at large, and will continue to be due from posterity, to those spirited individuals, who, when the cross was clandestinely sold to the late Mr. Dummer, and scaffolds were erected to take it down, in order to remove it to the grounds at Cranbury, rose in defence of this their ancient monument, and effectually preserved it for the honour and ornament of their city. (1)

It appears that in ancient times the space was open between the Cross and the parish church of St. Lawrence, which is now so hidden by houses built around it, as hardly to be visible. This is the mother church, being probably the first built parish church in the city; hence the bishop takes possession of his diocese by making a solemn entry into this little edifice. With diligent searching, however, the church-door may be found near the entrance of *Great Minster-street*; in which formerly there was also a church of *St. Martin*. The said street passing along the end of the Square, (the site, as we have often remarked, (2) of William the Conqueror's palace,) leads to a street, behind the close or ancient cloisters, now called *Simmond's-street*, from an hospital built therein by a mercer of that name, for the support of six old men, three boys, and one woman. It was erected in 1607, and is inscribed on its front *Christes Hospital*; though it is more generally called, the Blue Coat Hospital, from the colour of the clothes which the men and boys wear who belong to it. These exhibit the fashion of the dress prevalent amongst the ordinary people at the period of this foundation, the reign of James I.

(1) Vol. i, p. 449.

(2) Ibid. p. 188. Vol. ii, p. 101.

Proceeding from the Cross, down High-street, on the right hand, we immediately enter into a piazza, of a considerable extent, called the *Pent House*. On the left hand side of the way is the ancient *Parishment-street*, now called *Parchment-street*. In this was a church of *St. Martin*, and another of *St. Laurence*. Here also, at the upper end of the street, on the east side of it, stood Clobery-house, belonging to the general of that name, in the reign of Charles II. who was so greatly instrumental in bringing about the Restoration. (1) By the Saxon doorway, which is almost all that is left of this habitation, it appears to have been of high antiquity. On the site of it is at present erected a noble and commodious Hospital for the county of Hants; which hospital, as in its former situation it was the first establishment of that nature out of the metropolis, so it has never been surpassed in any other county, for the abilities of its medical attendants, or the comforts, in other respects, of its suffering inhabitants. In the same street stands a small Meeting-house, belonging to the Dissenters of Winchester. Below Parchment-street, nearly opposite the centre of the Pent-house, stood the parish church of *St. Mary Kalendar*; which was so large and elegant as to have once formed the principal ornament of the High-street. (2) It seems to have been neglected soon after the Reformation; as it stood unroofed in the reign of James I. (3) Instead of being repaired, it was taken down, and the parish united with that of St. Maurice.

A little beyond the Pent-house, on the same side of the way, we come to a short street, leading into the great church-yard; the ancient name of which we have not been able to discover. It is now called *Market-street*, from its joining to the new fabric, built for keeping the markets in, when they were removed thither in 1772. Some years ago, in digging at the south end of this street, and the east end of the Square, the workmen met with the foundation of a tower of prodigious strength. This probably made part of the Conqueror's palace, so often mentioned. Opposite to this street, to the north, is the ancient *Shulworth-street*, now called *The Upper Brook*,

(1) See vol. I, p. 420.

(2) Trussel's MSS.

(3) Ibid.

from a small canal which flows along the greater part of it. At the intersection of this with St. George's-street, opposite the blacksmith's shop, are the foundations of an ancient church, probably that of the saint just mentioned. In these are seen, worked into the wall, two Druidical stones. A third, which belonged to the same group, and was probably the Cromlech, or altar-stone, is now removed to St. Peter's chapel. In this street also was a church of *St. Swithun*. Near the same, being probably that which intersects the Upper and the Middle Brook, was *Wode-street*; which contained the churches of *All Hallows* and *St. Martin*. Lower down, on the south side of the High-street, is the church of *St. Maurice*; which, though now mutilated of one of its aisles, is, without question, the most ostensible parish church in Winchester. It was formally collegiate, having a congregation of regular clergy attached to it, under a superior, by the name of *The Prior and Brethren of St. Peter*; (1) who of course performed there the whole divine office, in the same manner as was done by the monks in the cathedral. The porch, though much obstructed and concealed by mean bulks and sheds, gives proof of elegant Saxon workmanship. The church, itself, however, where it has not been modernized, exhibits the ornamented Gothic; particularly the great east window. Nearly opposite to this church, on the left hand side of the way, is *Wongar-street*, now called *The Middle Brook*. In this stood the church of *St. Pancras*; what however principally distinguished it, between the 14th and 16th centuries, were the church and convent of the Franciscan, or Grey Friars. (2) These were dedicated in the name of the founder of that order, St. Francis of Assisium; (3) who established it

(1) Regist. Wykeham.

(2) Lowth, Trussel, Parkinson in his *Anglo Minorita*, and former writers in general, misled by Leland, who visited Winchester soon after the suppression of the religious houses, place this convent at the East-gate, where the Dominicans' house stood, and fix the latter some where at the north side of the city, without ascertaining its actual situation. But these and all such other authorities must yield to the deeds of the college, upon which both the convents were settled at the dissolution of religious houses, and which continues to possess them at the present day. These deeds ascertain the situation of the convents in the manner here described.

(3) Monasticon. Harpsfield. Speed.

in 1209, upon the basis of the most absolute poverty and mortification that it is possible to imagine. Certain friars of this order, which B. Agnellus, of Pisa, at their head, (1) arrived in England in the year 1220; where they were kindly received by Henry III. who, amongst other settlements, gave them a convent in this his favourite city. (2) Considerable parts of this being built of smooth black flints, neatly laid, existed in the last century. (3) At present we can barely trace the foundations of the church, in the great garden between the Middle and the Lower Brook, which formed the inclosure of this monastery, and is itself built entirely of such smooth flints. In this church was buried Edmund of Woodstock, the good earl of Kent, (4) after he had been beheaded before the castle-gate, in the manner we have related. (5) The value of this convent and inclosure, at the dissolution of such establishments, was deemed to be 13s. 4d. and was bestowed upon the college of St. Mary. Near the convent was *Ruel-street*; being probably the lane which now unites together the Middle and Lower Brook. It was so called from the chapel which stood in it of St. Ruel, or Rouold, by contraction from Rumbold. At present Wongar-street is chiefly remarkable for the general poor-house, which has lately been established in it. (6) *The Lower*

(1) Monasticon. Butler.

(2) Harpsfield. Speed. Parkinson.

(3) Trussel's MSS.

(4) Ibid. Parkinson.

(5) Vol. i, p. 283.

(6) We have reason to believe that this house is conducted with as much humanity and propriety as is possible in such an institution; but we have three invincible objections to the prevailing mode of huddling a vast number of poor people together, of each sex, and of every age and description. The first is, that it inflicts upon many persons, whose only fault is their poverty, the most severe punishment our laws are acquainted with, next to that of death, namely, hopeless captivity; and that in the worst of company. Our second objection is, that it destroys the essential relations of nature between parents, children, husbands, wives, &c. When a whole family is removed by an unfeeling parish, into this general depository of human misery, the child is no longer dependant upon its parents for its subsistence; it no longer eats and drinks, and works and prays, at their command, but at that of the master or mistress, whose orders the parents themselves are obliged to obey. In these circumstances it will not be surprising if the child should strike or spit upon the authors of its being. Lastly, experience proves, that to collect a great number of persons, especially poor children, together, without that attention and those precautions which cannot be expected

Brook, which is the next street on the same side of the way, was anciently called *Tanners-street*. In this were the churches of *St. Mary*, and of *St. John's in the Ivey*. From this street proceeded another, first in the eastern, and then in a southern direction, named in ancient times *Buck-street*, now *Busket-lane*. Even this obscure passage had two churches in it, *St. John's of the Latin-gate*, and *All Hallows*.

Below the Lower Brook, till of late, the High-street was contracted by a range of buildings on its south side, the most considerable of which was the city gaol. (1) Here stood the neat collegiate church of the Holy Trinity, founded and endowed by Roger, John, and Richard de Inkpen, (2) rich citizens of Winchester, in the eleventh century, (3) for a warden and a certain number of priests, (4) as a chantry and general charnel house for the city. (5) The charnel house where the bones were kept, was beneath the chapel, so that, to enter into the chapel, it was necessary to go up a flight of steps.

in a poor-house, is to extend the sphere of moral infection. The wicked will not be reclaimed by the innocent; on the contrary, they will initiate them into their own evil habits. There, are, however, it must be owned, two advantages to be weighed against these inconveniences. One is, that this summary mode of providing for the poor is a great saving of time and trouble to overseers. The other is, that the poor themselves, being intimidated by the prospect of a poor-house prison, will almost perish before they apply for parochial relief!

(1) This part of the High-street, which was before very narrow, is now exceedingly spacious, by the taking down of the above-mentioned gaol, &c. and of the voluntary surrender of the large space of ground between it and the abbey, which Mr. Weld and the ladies his tenants, made for the benefit of the city. Not content with this, they, at the request of the magistrates, made a free gift of a piece of ground in their kitchen garden for the erection of the present city gaol.

(2) Charters apud Gale, p. 12. Trussel. Ieland.—“ Ther is a fair chapelle on the north side of S. Mary Abbay chirch, in an area therby; to the wich men entre by a certen steppes. Under it is a vault for a carnarie.” Itin. vol. iii, p. 99, 100.

(3) We have assigned this date, as we also did in our first volume, p. 196, on the authority of Trussel; but we are much inclined to doubt, from the date of the charters in the Tower, cited by Gale, whether this foundation be more ancient than the reign of Edward II.

(4) Lowth, Life of W. W. p. 69. Ieland.

(4) Trussel's MSS.

The chapel stood on the north side of the abbey church of St. Mary. (1) This was the most ancient and the most considerable religious establishment in Winchester after the cathedral priory, and the abbey of St. Grimbald or of Hyde. It was founded for Benedictine nuns, with the help of king Alfred, by his queen Alswitha; and here, upon his demise, she passed the years of her widowhood under the religious veil, with such exemplary virtue and piety, that her name was afterwards inserted in the list of saints. Her body, however, was not buried here, but at the New Minster. (2) The church of this abbey, which was afterwards called *The Nunnaminster*, and appears to have been furnished with a high tower, was consecrated by archbishop Plegmund in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. (3) The person, however, who conferred the greatest distinction upon this royal foundation was Edburga, grand daughter of the foundress, and daughter of king Edward the Elder. This princess from her very infancy gave signs of her preference of a retired and devout life to all the pomp and pleasures of the world. (4) Hence being permitted by her father to follow her pious calling in the abbey of St. Mary, she became a model of every Christian virtue to her religious sisters, and particularly of humility; insomuch that it was her custom to rise from her bed privately in the night in order to perform the most menial offices of the house, and in particular to wash the clothes of the other nuns, who for a long time were unable to discover by what means this was effected. (5) She was afterwards chosen abbess of her monastery, in which office she continued until her death, which took place in the year 960. Her body was interred in the church of her abbey, (6) though a portion of it was afterwards translated to Pershore; (7) and she herself was honoured as a saint, (8)

(1) Leland ut supra.

(2) Rudb. Hist. Maj.

(3) " Archiepiscopus Plegmundus euceniavit in Wintonie urbe arduam turrim quæ tum noviter fundata fuerat in honore Genitricis Dei Mariæ." Nobilis. Ethelward. Chronic. l. iv.

(4) Gul. Malm. De Reg. & De Pontif. Surius.

(5) Ibid.

(6) " Cujus corpus Wintonie requiescit apud Nunnaminstre sine fallaciâ." Annal. Wint. an. 901.

(7) Gul. Malm.

(8) Martyrolog. Anglic. Junii 15.

and as the secondary patroness of this her convent. (1) For the better support of this abbey, which does not appear to have been originally well endowed, king Edmund, brother to the above mentioned holy abbess, settled upon it a toll to be collected of all merchandize passing by water under the city bridge; or by land under the east gate. (2) Notwithstanding this resource, the abbey had fallen into great poverty and decay in the time of king Edgar, when our zealous bishop St. Ethelwold undertook to restore, and in a manner to found it a-new; which he performed in the most ample manner: (3) at the same time regulating its discipline and religious observances, according to the new Benedictine concordate, lately settled and published by himself and St. Dunstan, in this city. He at the same time appointed a venerable and experienced religious woman, by name Etheldreda, to be the superior of this abbey, in order to carry his plans into execution. Henceforward this house became the resort of many West Saxon ladies of royal or noble parentage. In 992, the abbey of Romsey being exposed to the fury of the Danish ravager, Swayne; the religious inhabitants of it, amongst whom was St. Elfreda, another daughter of king Edward the Elder, together with their abbess Elwina, fled to this city for refuge; (4) and were of course received and entertained by their religious sisters of St. Mary's abbey. Here also the illustrious and pious princess Matilda, daughter of St. Margaret, queen of Scotland, and the direct descendant of Edmund Ironside, was educated; and here she put on the religious veil, though without making the usual solemn vows: (5) when at length she was reluctantly forced by her father, Malcolm, king of Scotland, backed by the counsel of St. Anselm, to give her hand in marriage to Henry I. (6) About this time we discover that Alicia was abbess of the convent, whose predecessor's name was Beatrix. (7) In that solemn procession which took place from this city, to conduct the empress Maud into it, we have remarked,

(1) Harpsfield. Speed.

(2) Trussel's MSS.

(3) Rudb. Hist. Maj.

(4) Capgrave, in Vit. Elf.

(5) Will. Malm. De Reg. I. v. Mat. Paris.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Annal. Wint. an. 1801.

that the nuns of this abbey marched out together with the other religious and dignified persons, who then resided here. (1) The fact is, this was to them an occasion not only of public, but also of private joy; the empress being the daughter of their friend and companion Maud, the good queen, as she was emphatically named. Being disappointed, however, in the hopes of peace, which they and the nation in general entertained, in consequence of the interview on Magdalen downs; these nuns were amongst the first of those who experienced the horrors of the civil war, which broke out in this city. For their house being completely commanded by the bishop's new-built castle of Wolvesey, the garrison of the latter threw their wild fire, of which they made so fatal a use in this war, with such effect upon it, as entirely to reduce it to ashes. (2) We may be assured that Henry II. or Fitz-empress, befriended these ladies, and assisted them in restoring their abbey to its ancient splendor. We have positive proof of the regard which his grandson, Henry III. had for this venerable establishment; it being his pleasure, that its successive abbesses should be solemnly presented to him in the castle, upon their election; whom he was accustomed to receive in the most gracious manner. In 1265, the abbess Agnes dying, Euphemia, a nun of the same house, was chosen to succeed her, and was the same day graciously received by the king, who was then residing at Winchester. (3) In 1270, Euphemia, having resigned her office with her life, Lucia, who had been prioress of the convent, was elected in her place; and being presented at the castle, was received by Henry with his usual kindness. (4) The same prince respected the sanctity of this place, when one of his ministers, Stephen de Segrave, against whom he was greatly incensed, fled hither for refuge. (5) But though this renowned abbey was exempt from ordinary civil, it was not free from ordinary ecclesiastical, jurisdiction. In 1274, a visitation of it, as likewise of the cathedral priory and of Hyde-abbey, was

(1) Vol. i, p. 212. ex Chron. Gervas Dorob.

(2) Gervas. Dorob. Trussel.

(3) Annales Wintonienses, ad dict. an.

(4) Annal. Wigorn. ad dict. an.

(5) Flores Histor. Westmon.

performed by Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury. (1) In 1271 we find that it was in like manner visited by Nicholas De Ely, the diocesan bishop. (2) It appears also that our illustrious prelate Wykeham visited in person this, as well as the other religious houses of his diocese; (3) nor was he forgetful of it in his last will, bequeathing to the abbess of it five marks, and to each of the nuns 13s. 4d. (4)

When this convent had subsisted six centuries and a half, eminent for the regularity and piety of its inhabitants in general, as well as for the rank and birth of many amongst them; it was on a sudden involved in that general proscription of all such monasteries as were under the yearly value of 200*l.* the revenues of this amounting only to 179*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* per ann. (5) This was done under pretence that strict regularity and conventual discipline could not be observed in the poorer monasteries; (6) whereas the real reason obviously was, that the profligate Henry and his abandoned courtiers did not think the moment was yet arrived for attacking the grand monasteries, which were powerful by their influence and connections; many of which also had superiors honoured with seats in parliament. At this time dame Elizabeth Shelly was abbess of this convent, consisting of 21 nuns, (7) besides servants. Being a woman of great talents and spirit, she found means for the present to avert the storm, and actually obtained letters patent, under the king's private seal, dated August 27, 1536, by which her abbey was new founded with all its property and privileges, except the valuable manors of Allcanning and Archefount, in Wiltshire, which were alienated in favour of lord Edward Seymour viscount Beauchamp, and lady Ann his wife; (8) and she the said dame Shelly was appointed to be abbess of the

(1) Annal. Wint. ad dict. an.

(2) Annal. Wigorn. ad dict. an.

(3) Regist. Wykeham, apud Lowth, Life of W. W. p. 69.

(4) Testam. W. W. ap. Lowth.

(5) Monasticon.

(6) 27 Hen. VIII, c. xxviii.

(7) Lowth, p. 69.

(8) In our first volume we have intimated that the abbess and convent purchased the favour of the then lord Beauchamp and his lady, by a *voluntary* surrender to them of their lands in Wiltshire, which lay exceedingly convenient for their use. But the author of the Monas-

new founded convent. (1) By virtue of this charter, the peculiar exercises of the monastic life continued to be followed in this house, after all the other convents in Winchester were suppressed; not only those of the poorer sort, but also the grand priory of St. Swithun and Hyde-abbey. At length, Henry being weary of this indulgence, or, what is more probable, some of his courtiers being impatient for the remaining spoils of this establishment; his agents had recourse here to their usual arts for forcing the superiors of convents into a surrender, where they could not be persuaded to do the same voluntarily. (2) In consequence of these, St. Mary's abbey at length fell in its turn, after it had subsisted four years, by virtue of the new charter. The abbess and eight of her nuns had small annuities granted them; the rest of the community were totally unprovided for. (3) Dame Shelly continued to reside in this city, and it appears that she had not lost all hopes of seeing her convent once more established; as she

icon seems to be better founded in asserting that Henry arbitrarily gave them away, which leaves the motives of his new founding this abbey quite in the dark. The author's words are these:—"In this case the king favoured those nuns, as Polyphemus did Ulysses, preserving them to be last devoured. Yet were they obliged to purchase that short relief at a dear rate; for it cost them the manors of Archefount and Alleaning, &c. which that insatiable monarch wrested from the poor nuns, to save them at that time from destruction. And it is very well worth observing, that his pretence for suppressing of all the monasteries that were under the yearly value of 200*l.* and of this amongst them was, that they were too poor to subsist decently and perform the service of God honourably; and yet he made this poorer than it was before, in order to spare it. Perhaps he had some private reason to oblige Anne the wife of Edward Seymour, viscount Beauchamp, on whom he bestowed those manors; for it is well known that many church lands were made the reward of complying with his abominable lusts." Stephens, *Monasticon Anglic.* folio. vol. 11, p. 532.

(1) See the said charter. *Monasticon*, Append. n. clxxv.

(2) See Collier's *Ecc. Hist.* vol. 11, p. 154 & deinceps. Dugdale's *Hist. of Warwickshire*.

(3) The lady abbess, Elizabeth Shelly, had 4*l.* per annum allowed her. Agnes Bagecroft and Mary Martin each 4*l.* Cecily Gaynesford, Christina Caffe, Edburga Stratford, Faith Welbeck, Johanna Crers, and Dorothy Ringwood, each of them 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*—The learned author who furnishes this list, insinuates the cause why the two first mentioned private nuns were made equal in their pensions with the abbess; viz. on account of their having been subservient to the measure of the commissioners in procuring the surrender. *Monastic. Ibid.*

made the present of a silver chalice, which probably she had saved from the sacrilegious wreck, to the college of this city, on the express condition that it should be given to St. Mary's abbey, in case it was ever restored. (1) Considerable remains of this venerable fabric existed at the beginning of the 17th century, which testified its extent and magnificence. (2) At present nothing is left of it except its name of *Abbey*, by which the whole circumference of its inclosure is still called; and a small heap of stones in a garden where the church seems to have stood: the rest of the materials having been employed in erecting a modern mansion-house, lately the property of William Pescod, esq. and afterwards of Thomas Weld, esq.

Behind the abbey inclosure is Colebrook-street, where, until of late years, stood a parish church, under the name of *St. Peter's Colebrook*. This street separated the premises of the convent from those of Wolvesey. In the front of the abbey, at the east end of the city gaol, are some houses, which stand on the site of the ancient church of *St. Mary of the Linen Web*. (3)

On the north side of the High-street, directly opposite the site of the last mentioned church, stands the ancient and interesting structure called *St. John's-house*. It seems plain, from Leland, that this was originally founded as an hospital, by St. Brinstan, (4) who died bishop of Winchester, in the year 934, and who was remarkable for his charity to the poor; a considerable number of whom he was accustomed to attend every day and serve in person. (5) There is some reason for supposing that this establishment afterwards became the property, or fell under the administration of the Knight Templars. (6) What seems clear from the account of our Win-

(1) MS.

(2) Camden's *Britannia*, Hampshire.

(3) MS.

(4) "Hard by is a fair hospital of St. John, where pore syke people be kept. Ther is yn the chapelle an ymage of St. Brinstane, sumtyme bishop of Wynchestre, and I have redde that St. Brinstane foundid an hospitale yn Wynchestre." Leland, *Itin.*

(5) Rudb. *Hist. Maj.* 1, III, c. VIII.

(6) Trussell's MSS.—N. B. One of our streets, near the present market-house, was called *Temple-ditch*, which seems to argue the existence of a house of that military order somewhere thereabout.

chester antiquary is, that in the year of their suppression,(1) when all their property in this city and elsewhere fell into the king's hands; a rich and charitable citizen and magistrate of Winchester, John Devenish, obtained permission of the reigning monarch, Edward II. to refound it, as an hospital, on the following plan. It was instituted "for the sole relief of sick and lame soldiers, poor pilgrims, and necessitated way-faring men; to have their lodging and diet gratis there, for one night or longer, as their inability to travel might require." Sufficient funds were established by the founder for the maintenance of these poor; and beds and other necessities were provided for them. The whole was put under the administration of the city magistrates. Hence the mayor, for the time being, issued billets in favour of those persons whom he judged to be fit objects of this charity.(2) It should seem that this house, from the time we have been speaking of, besides its purpose of an hospital, had been also applied to that of a public hall; as our author cites a city ordinance, of almost equal date with its institution, appointing a public supper to be made for the members of the corporation and their wives, on the Sunday evening next after the festival of its patron, St. John the Baptist, in memory of John Devenish, its founder: for the benefit of which supper, the new mayor and he who then went out of office were each of them to contribute two fat capons.(3) In the reign of Henry VI. Richard Devenish, a descendant of the above-mentioned John, added a new foundation to the former, for the more frequent performance of divine service in the chapel of this hospital.(4) At length that wide-

(1) Trussel's MSS.—It is true this writer refers this foundation by Devenish to the year 1289, and the reign of Edward I. but then it is to be observed, that he places the suppression of the Templars immediately before it, in the same year 1289. The fact is, nothing can be more confused and erroneous than his chronology in general.

(2) Trussel's MSS.

(3) Ibid.—Our author says that the supper which he so particularly describes was kept up in his own time. Hence we learn that the time of changing the mayor was Midsummer-day; and that the ladies partook of the mayor's feast as late as the reign of James I.

(4) It might seem from the account of Trussel, that there was no priest or chapel annexed to the hospital before the reign of Henry VI. But the chapel is mentioned in the episcopal

wasting desolation, which in the reign of the eighth Henry swept away almost every kind of property, devoted to pious or charitable purposes, put a final period to the beneficent and useful establishment of the Devenishes; which, from its particular institution for the relief of lame soldiers, we might expect would have been spared on motives of policy. In a word, not only the permanent funds for the support of the hospital were seized upon, and lavished away on some court parasite; but also the building itself, and the poor beds and other furniture belonging to it, were confiscated to the king's use. The corporation, which on this occasion must have lost much other property besides this, was obliged to submit to the sacrilegious storm; as most other corporations were, whether religious, literary, or civil. In the end, however, they obtained to have the bare walls of their house restored to them, (1) to serve as a public hall for holding the elections of their officers, and as a magazine for the use of the city; together with *some few of the beds*, (2) for certain poor individuals, who were probably supported by private charity. In the reign of queen Mary, St. John's-house became, for a third time, a charitable foundation, but upon a different plan from the establishment either of St. Brinstan or of Devenish. It was endowed by Richard Lamb, esq. in 1554, for the support of six poor widows of citizens, each of whom has a separate apartment, in a court, on the north side of the main building; the whole being under the patronage and direction of the mayor for the time being. (3) The ancient part of this structure is still applied to the uses of the corporation. The principal chamber forms a noble hall, for public feasts, music, and assemblies; being 62 feet in length, 38 in breadth, and 28 in height. This was made and fitted up in an elegant style, with the other offices of the house, chiefly by the benefaction of colonel Bridges, the proprietor of Avington, whose portrait is suspended in the grand chamber. (4) Its principal ornament, however, is that inimitable original picture of king Charles II. in his royal

registers long before that period, and the style in which it is built proves it to be more ancient than that reign by nearly two centuries.

(1) Trussel's MSS.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Charter of queen Eliz.

(4) He left £00*l.* for this purpose.

robes and at full length, painted by sir Peter Lely, and presented by that monarch to the corporation, when he became a member of it, and had fixed upon this city for the ordinary place of his residence. In the adjoining room, called the council chamber, are seen the City Tables, which heretofore were so disgraceful, for their numerous and revolting errors, (1) to a place that has at all times been connected with literature; as likewise a list of the Mayors of Winchester, from the year 1184, down to the present time. (2) In the dust hole, near the apartment of the widows, amongst other curious antiques, was to be seen, 'till of late, (3) the figure of St. John the Baptist's head in the dish; being the bust of the holy patron of the house. This formerly stood over the principal door-way. The ancient chapel of the hospital is now made use of for the public free school.

Leaving St. John's-house and Chapel, we come next, on the same side of the way, to *Eastgate-house*. Here formerly stood the church and convent of the *Dominicans*, or Black Friars. (4) This order, which was first established by St. Dominic in the south of France, about the year 1215, was introduced into England in 1221, by our bishop, Peter de Rupibus; (5) who, in 1230, bestowed upon it a convent, with all its appurtenances, in this his episcopal city. (6) The conveniency of this situation, in the principal street, and the Elysian beauty of the inclosure behind it, on the banks of the river, were the causes why this Friary, at the dissolution, was rated higher than the other three; being valued at twenty shillings per annum.

We are now arrived at the spot, where the East-gate, until of late, formed the precise boundary of the city; but which, with most of the other monuments of its ancient dignity and greatness, was taken down by men who had not the taste to perceive what constitutes the real ornament and importance of Winchester.

(1) See Appendix.

(2) Ibid.

(3) In the course of last year it was removed from its disgraceful situation, and erected in one of the cloisters of the house, by order of the Mayor.

(4) We have mentioned that Leland ascribes this situation to the Grey Friars. His authority seems to have misled even Dugdale, who, in consequence of this mistake, asserts in his Baronetage that Edmund earl of Kent was buried there.

(5) *Monasticon. Anglic.*

(6) Harpsfield, *Ecc. Hist.* Godwin, *De Præsul.* Speed.

CHAP. X.

Derivation of the word SOKE.—Extent of it.—Streets in the nearer Part of it.—St. Giles's Hill.—The famous ancient Fair held upon it.—View from thence of Magdalen Hill.—Remarkable Events which have there taken place.—Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen.—The Founder of it discovered.—The Series of its History.—Its late Destruction.—Brief Account of other Antiquities, to which the Roads, visible from St. Giles's Hill, conduct.—Hempage Woods.—Tichbourne House.—Marwell.—Porchester.—Letley Abbey.—Beaulieu Abbey.—Stoneham.—Merden Castle.—Romsey Abbey.—Silchester, &c.—Survey of the remaining Part of the Soke.—Bub's Cross.—Waley-street.—Winnal.—Bourne Gate. North Wall of the City.—Ancient Form of it.

THE East-gate and the adjoining city wall, on both sides of it, had the main arm of the river Itchin for its military foss. This, as we gather from the charter of king Edmund, to his sister Edburga, and her abbey of St. Mary, (1) was then navigable in this part, as it probably was also to its very head near Alresford. The bridge joining to the city gate was built, as we have said, by our famous St. Swithun. (2) Probably there was a wooden bridge before his time, and he first of all built it of stone. Having passed over this bridge, we are in what is called *The Soke*, or borough of Winchester, so called from the Saxon word *SOC*, which signifies a free district or domain, enjoying the privilege of having courts held and justice administered in it. (3) The Soke was formerly of great extent, and exceedingly populous. Even so late as the days of Henry VIII. (4) and

(1) See p. 204.

(2) Vol. i, p. 119.

(3) "Significat libertatem curiæ tenentium, quam *Socam* appellamus." Fleta, l. i, c. 47.(4) "Ther is a suburbe at the est gate, of sum callid *Soken*, and is the biggest of all the suburbes longing to the cyte of Winchester." Leland, Itin. vol. iii, p. 101.

Elizabeth, it was very considerable for the number of its inhabitants. (1) Strictly speaking, it comprehends all the streets and buildings to the south, as well as the east of the city. Hence, even Wolvesey-palace and the College were described as being within the district of the Soke. (2) At present, however, it is only taken for that part of Winchester which is situated on the east side of the river.

The first street we come to in the Soke, is situated on the left hand, and is now called *Water-lane*; its ancient name, before the time of Elizabeth, we have not been able to discover. It abounds with the ruins of churches; one portion of which, about the middle of it, at present forming a granary, exhibits rich specimens of the pellet and other Saxon ornaments. Nearly opposite to this street, on the south side of the way, is the street of *St. Peter Chusul*, (4) vulgarly called Cheese-hill. Here stands a parish church of the same name. At a small distance on the left hand, being the old road to Alresford, is St. John's-street. In this, at the rising of the hill, is the church of St. John. (4) It is probable, from the chantries formerly annexed to this church, (5) that it was well founded; certainly it was well built, compared with the general state of our parish churches. It does not, however, exhibit the Saxon style of the Conqueror's reign, as we have been told; (6) but rather the improved Gothic of Edward the Third's reign.

Being arrived thus far, the curious stranger will not fail to mount up to the top of that white cliff, which overhangs the city, and once formed part of it, called *St. Giles's-hill*; either by the long circuit of the high road, or by the short but steep ascent which he sees immediately before him. Having attained to that point of the summit which is in a line with the High-street, he will certainly confess himself richly repaid for his labour in mounting up hither. In fact, we have here the whole city under our feet,

(1) *Manerium de Soka, juxta Winton*, being a Survey of the Soke, an. 4to. Reg. Eliz. MS. penes J. Duthy, esq.

(2) Dict. MS.

(3) Regist. Orlton. Cheshul. Dict. MS.

(4) Ecclesia S. Joannis de Monte. Regist. Orlton.

(5) MS.

(6) Anonym. History, vol. 1, p. 212.

and command a bird's eye view of all the objects which we have described, consisting of streets, fortifications, palaces, churches, and ruins, with intermingled gardens, fields, groves, and streams. Having satisfied ourselves with surveying this pleasing and almost unequalled landscape, let us now attend to the particulars worthy of notice which the hill itself furnishes. Here stood the church or chapel of St. Giles. (1) It must have been ancient, as we read of its being burnt down in the year 1231. (2) Having been afterwards rebuilt, it was still in being, though greatly mutilated, in the reign of Henry VIII. (3) Nothing belonging to it at present remains, except the church-yard, which is made use of, though not exclusively, by the Dissenters. On the brow of this hill was beheaded, in the oppressive reign of the Conqueror, the darling of the English nation, Waltheof, earl of Northumberland and Huntingdon; (4) after he had been conducted through the whole city, from his confinement in the castle on the opposite hill. He was at first buried in the cross road, at the extremity of the said hill, but afterwards his relations obtained permission to remove his body to the abbey of Crowland; (5) to which he had been a great benefactor, and where the statue of him is still to be seen, amongst the ruins of that venerable place. The circumstance, however, for which this hill was most famous in ancient times, was its Fair. This was first granted by the Conqueror to his cousin, bishop Walkelin, and his successors, to whom this hill belonged, for a single day; William Rufus extended it to three days, Henry I. to eight, Stephen to fourteen, and Henry II. to sixteen days. During the time of the Fair the shops were shut up, and no business was allowed to be transacted throughout the whole city, or in Southampton, or, in short, within the distance of seven leagues from the hill in every direction.

On the eve preceding the festival of St. Giles, (6) when the fair began,

(1) Regist. Pontissara.

(2) Annales Winton.

(3) "The chapelle of St. Gyles sumtyme, as apperith, hath bene a far bigger thyng." Leland, Itin. vol. III, p. 101.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Sim. Dunelm. Will. Malm.

(6) Viz. Sept. 10, N.S.

the mayor of the city gave up the keys of the four city gates, and with them his authority, to a temporary magistrate appointed by the bishop; and did not receive them back again until the fair was concluded. In the mean time collectors were appointed at Southampton, Redbridge, and on all the roads leading to this city, to exact the appointed duties upon all merchandize that was brought to the fair. It is true, however, that the bishop did not enjoy the whole benefit of these tolls; for the priory of St. Swithun, Hyde-abbey, the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, and other corporations, were entitled to certain portions of it. (1) This fair was in the highest repute of any throughout the kingdom; merchants resorted to it, not only from the most remote parts within land, but also from places beyond the sea. (2) It formed a kind of temporary city, which was entirely mercantile; consisting of whole streets appropriated to the sale of particular commodities, and distinguished by their several names; as the drapery, the pottery, the spicery, the stannery, &c. At length, in the reign of Henry VI. this celebrated mart was perceived to be on the decline; the stand appointed for those who brought certain articles for sale from Cornwall, not being occupied. (3) Since that period various causes, and amongst others the decay of the city itself, have gradually reduced this fair to its present insignificancy.

From St. Giles's-hill we may cast our eyes upon many objects worthy of the antiquary's notice; and may observe the direction, at least, in which other objects lie, which we may hereafter take occasion to visit, either in the vicinity, or throughout the county. In the first place, adjoining to this hill, in an eastern direction, are the beautiful downs of St. Mary Magdalen's-hill. These have been the scene of many important events; as of the pacification between the empress Maud and the partisans of king Ste-

(1) Cart. ap. Gale, p. 8. Cart. de Inspec. ap. Dugd. &c.

(2) See Mat. Paris. et Flores Hist. ad. an. 1249.—Hence Piers Plowman is introduced, saying, "To Wy and to Winchester I went to the fair."

(3) These particulars are gathered from Warton's History of English Poetry, from the Titles of the Charters, in Gale, p. 2, 4, and from MSS.

phen, (1) and of the interview between king John and archbishop Langton, which produced the reconciliation of that prince with the church: (2) at the same time that we are obliged to reject certain fabulous transactions, and in particular the pretended victory of king Arthur over his nephew Mordred, which are said to have taken place on these downs. (3) On the south side of the downs, a little beyond the turnpike-gate, are five ancient barrows of the bell form, and placed in a line. On the opposite side of the road, near the first mile-stone from the city, and in the open plain, were to be seen, when this work was first published, a double row of naked pillars and arches; the former were of the round Saxon kind, the latter highly pointed. These were the only remains of the venerable hospital of St. Mary Magdalen; having been part of the church nave. At present, even these memorials of an ancient foundation, and of an existing church benefice, have disappeared. This hospital was of much the same nature with that of St. Cross, on the opposite side of the city; being intended not so much for the cure of the sick, as for the support of infirm persons. It had not, however, the same advantage of preserving the records of its foundation. In the absence of these, we must have recourse to conjectural arguments, which nevertheless afford more light than could have been expected from them. It was admitted as a fact, at a time when this place had undergone no considerable changes, namely, in the 37th year of Henry VIII. that the founder of this charity was a bishop of Winchester. (4) Accordingly we observe that the prelates of this see always nominated both the brethren and masters of it; and, in short, exercised an unlimited power over it. (5) In the next place, we find that this hospital had already subsisted *a long time*, (6) when John de Pontissara became bishop of Winchester, in

(1) Vol. I, p. 212.

(2) Ibid. p. 237.

(3) Trussel's MSS. Anonym. Hist. vol. II, p. 8.

(4) Report to Court of Augment. Wavel's Appendix to the anonymous History, n. III. —Mr. Wavel having been master of Magdalen hospital, and having such documents belonging to it as then existed, in his possession, we presume that his account, as far as relates to this subject, may be depended upon.

(5) Wavel. R. G. Vetusta Monum. vol. III.

(6) "Per longa tempora." Regist. Pontissara

1280; which expression will hardly admit of a shorter duration than a century. This computation carries back the establishment of the hospital to the end of the 12th century, at which time Richard Toclyve governed the see. But what will perhaps be considered as of greater weight, than any thing which has yet been advanced on this head, is, that the architecture of the church, whilst it subsisted, exactly corresponded with that period. It was of the ornamented Saxon kind, (1) mixed with the first rudiments of the Gothic; one feature of which was, arches of the most acute angle. (2) On the other hand, we are acquainted with the history, and particularly with the public works of piety and charity, of the predecessors of bishop Toclyve, Henry De Blois, William Giffard, and Walkelin, as also with those of his successors, Godfrey de Lucy, Peter de Rupibus, &c. whereas all that we are informed of concerning Toclyve is, that he proved an exemplary prelate, (3) and that his charity at first led him to the improvement and augmentation of the hospital of St. Cross, but that afterwards it was diverted into some other channel. (4) Whoever considers with attention the several arguments that are here brought together, will have little difficulty in admitting, that bishop Toclyve was that founder of St. Mary Magdalen's Hospital, who has hitherto been sought for in vain. We may even form a probable conjecture, concerning the particular occasion of his founding it. Richard Toclyve, or of Ilvescester, archdeacon of Poitiers, before his promotion to the episcopacy, was particularly active in the persecution which the courtiers joined with their prince in carrying on against St. Thomas Becket. The tragical death of the latter brought about that union of sentiments which he could never effect in his life time. Hence all those who had been active in opposing the martyred primate, were now forward to give public marks of their repentance; and thus we may suppose, that the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, who was the patroness of penitents, was

(1) See the engravings of the same in Vet. Monum. also the porch of the said church, in our plate of St. Peter's chapel. (2) Plates 1 and 2, vol. 111. Vet. Mon.

(3) See Annales Wint. also his epitaph in the Cathedral. "Præsulis egregii."

(4) Lowth's Life of W. W. p. 78.

founded by our prelate, in atonement for his particular guilt, and the scandal which he had given on the above-mentioned occasion. In confirmation of this opinion, we may observe, that the history of this event was painted on the walls of this chapel, which painting was still visible ten years ago. (1)

The foundation of this charitable establishment being thus elucidated, its remaining history may be comprised in a few words. The indefatigable Wykeham, whose eyes were open upon every part of his pastoral charge, took no less pains in redressing the abuses, which had crept into the administration of this charity, than he did in reforming those at St. Cross. In the time of his successor, Beaufort, it was distinguished by having the great Waynflete, afterwards bishop of the see, for its master; who has not improbably been supposed to have been determined in the choice of the title and patroness of his magnificent foundation of Magdalen College, Oxford, by his attachment to this his little charge of the same name at Winchester. (2) In the last Henry's reign, a strict scrutiny was made into the revenues of this, as well as of other hospitals; but it fared better than most of them, having the good fortune to escape suppression. It was, however, so much fleeced, either in that or the following reign; that, whereas formerly it afforded an ample support to nine poor persons, it has since that time yielded a mere pittance towards the maintenance of eight. (3) In the reign of Charles I. it suffered much from the marauding of the royal troops, who were stationed in Winchester and the adjoining country. But the most fatal stroke that it had yet suffered was in the reign of Charles II. when the brethren were obliged to resign the hospital, for the purpose of converting it into a place of confinement for Dutch prisoners of war. (4) None of its masters or other friends, after that period, having had the spirit to fit it up again, in order to answer its original purpose, or

(1) See plate 3, vol. III, *Vetust. Monum. B.*

(2) Waver's Appendix to anonymous Hist. vol. II, p. 178.

(3) So much is admitted by this master, after all his elaborate calculations on the subject.

(4) Vol. I, p. 427.

even to keep it in repair, as a tenement for the individuals who occasionally rented it; this ancient fabric became a prey to ruin. Hence, in the year 1788, a commission was procured by the late master for pulling it down; at which time the materials of it were sold to certain builders of the city. In consequence of this measure, nothing remained, even in the year 1799, on the spot, to attest the existence of this venerable monument, except the naked pillars and arches described above. On the more elevated part of the hill, adjoining to the site of this hospital, is held Magdalen Fair, on the festival of St. Mary Magdalen. (1) This is at present by far the most considerable of all the fairs held in the neighbourhood of Winchester, though no mention of it has been discovered in ancient records. (2) It seems to have arisen and increased at the expence of the celebrated fair of St. Giles's-hill, concerning which so much has been said.

From the same hill, at the distance of two miles beyond the ruins of Magdalen hospital is seen the forest of ~~Hanepinges~~, now called Hampege. We have mentioned the adventure of bishop Walkelin, in cutting down all the trees which then grew in it, for building his cathedral. (3) About three miles eastward from thence, and within a mile of New Alresford, is Tichbourne-house, part of which is supposed to be more ancient than the Conquest. This is the seat of a family still more ancient than that event, and which is supposed to derive its name from the river, near the head of which the mansion-house stands. (4) At an equal distance from us, on the next road, being that which leads to Portsmouth, a little to the right, is the ancient episcopal manor-house of Marwell, the name of which has frequently occurred in the course of this work. (5) Portsmouth itself is

(1) Viz. Old Style.

(2) This hospital, about the reign of Edward III. enjoyed certain perquisites from the fair of St. Giles's-hill; but no mention is made of any fair held before its own doors on Magdalen-hill. Hence we may presume this fair is not of a very ancient date. See MS. Harleian. Vet. Mon.

(3) See vol. 1, p. 194, 195.

(4) Tichborne, quasi de Itchin-bourne, or of the Itchin river.

(5) Vol. 1, p. 276, 328, 345, &c.

comparatively a modern town, probably not much more ancient than the reign of king John; at which period our munificent prelate, Peter de Rupibus, founded a celebrated hospital there, called God's-house, which, with most other charitable institutions of the like nature, was dissolved and swallowed up by the insatiable avarice of the irreligious tyrant Henry VIII. The ancient port of the *Great Harbour*, as Ptolemy calls that of Portsmouth, (1) was the Roman station of Porchester, where the remains of a venerable castle are still seen, which even now answer an important public use. (2) This castle, indeed, is not by any means of an antiquity so high as that which the vulgar ascribe to it, who say that it was built by Julius Cæsar; still, however, it is sufficiently antient to render it an interesting object to the curious antiquary, being indisputably the work of William the Conqueror. Behind the mountain, adjoining to that on which we stand, and which derives its name from St. Catherine, so often mentioned above, and another ridge of mountains in the same direction, at the distance of 15 miles from our present station, and upon an arm of the sea, (the real *Antona* of the Romans,) (3) are to be seen the magnificent and beautiful ruins of Letley, (4) vulgarly called Netley-abbey. This was founded by our Henry of Winchester, for Cistercian monks, in honour of his patron, St. Edward the Confessor; on which account it was frequently termed Edwardstow. (6) Here the well informed antiquary traces the silent cloister, the simple kitchen, the frugal refectory, (6) the awful chapter-house, the rich sacristy, the solemn and magnificent church: whilst the ordinary spectator is forced to admit that justice has never yet been done, either by the pencil or the pen, to the mere scenery of the ruins, or to the situation of *Pleasant*

(1) Μεγάλη Λιμήν. cap. III. *Portus Magnus*. Ricard. Corinensis. Iter. xv.

(2) As a place of confinement for prisoners of war.

(3) See vol. 1, p. 21.

(4) *Abbatia de Læto Loco*. Dugdale Harpsfield, &c.

(5) Ibid.—The arms of St. Edward, as they were supposed to be, consisting of a cross flory and four martlets, are to be seen amongst the ruins.

(6) See the verses of the monk of St. Alban's, on the original abstemiousness of the Cistercians, vol. 1, p. 206.

Place. The charms of this can only be equalled by those of its parent abbey, emphatically called *Beautiful Place*, (1) which lie in the same direction, on the other side of the Antona water. Having traversed five miles of black and dreary heath, which seems to reach without end in every direction; the curious traveller who visits Beaulieu, descends at once into a lovely vale, enclosed with lofty trees, covered with rich verdure, and watered by a flowing river; the whole of which seem to be the effect of magic. In the most enchanting part of this scene, stands the ancient abbey. He will see, in the first place, the outward gate of the sanctuary, to which the brave but unfortunate Margaret of Anjou, (2) the venturesome impostor, Perkin Warbeck, and other fugitive victims of the laws, fled, with breathless haste, for safety. He will next come to the abbot's house, with its turrets, moats, and other miniature fortifications, as perfect, and in as good condition, as when it was first built: Here fugitives of distinction were entertained. After this, he will enter and survey the spacious and noble refectory, now the parish church, rich with innumerable ornaments and monuments of former ages. Finally, he will trace in the splendid remains of the cloisters, chapter-house, and church, the chief effort, if not of the piety, at least of the taste and magnificence, of the unfortunate king John. In the same direction, but nearer home, at Northam and in the parish of St. Mary's, is the site of the ancient Clausentum, or port of the Anton. (3) At the head of this estuary, five miles further up the country, is the Vadum Arundinis, or Reedford, (4) now, from the bridge there constructed, called *Reed*, or *Redbridge*. Near to this was an ancient monastery, founded soon after the conversion of the West Saxons, of which St. Cymbert was abbot in the reign of Ceadwalla. (5) It seems to be the same which, in the following century, was called Nutcell, now Nursling; where the great St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, was instructed and became a monk. (6) The intermediate station between Clausentum and our city, was called *Ad*

(1) *Abbatia De Bello Loco*, or of *Beaulieu*.

(2) Vol. I, p. 308.

(3) Vol. I, p. 22, 23.

(4) *Beda Ecc. Hist.* I. IV, c. 16.(5) *Ibid.*(6) Butler's *Lives of Saints*, June 5.

Lapidem, (1) now Stoneham. At a still less distance lies Brambridge, the ancient seat of the noble family of Wells, now the property of Walter Smythe, esq.; also the pleasant village of Twyford, once, as we have observed, (2) a chosen retreat of the Druids. On the next road, leading south-west, is the village of Hursley, where stood the episcopal manor of Merden, often mentioned in this work, which in the last century became the property and chief residence of the ex-protector, Richard Cromwell, and his family; in the church of which they are all interred. (3) Further on, is the town of Rumsey; which owes its being to the royal nunnery, founded there by Edward the Elder, and enlarged by king Edgar, who buried his eldest son Edmund Clyto, (4) in the noble and capacious church which still subsists there. It was celebrated for the nobility and sanctity of its abbesses; amongst whom were the saints Merwenna, Elwina, Elfreda, and Christina. Another of these abbesses, the daughter of king Stephen, by name Mary, renouncing the vows which she had made, married Matthew, brother of the count of Flanders. In the end she returned to her monastery at Rumsey, and died in peace. The adjoining road, which lies north-west, goes first through Stockbridge; where the brave Robert, earl of Gloucester, in covering the retreat of his half-sister, the empress Maud, was taken prisoner by the forces of king Stephen. Further on, in one direction, are the mounds and grafts of Old Sarum, and the beautiful Gothic cathedral of modern Salisbury; and, in another, the mystic temple of Stonehenge, and the monuments of the beautiful Elfrida's contrition for her crimes, at Amesbury and Wherwell. The remaining road, which stretches due north, leads, at the distance of nearly thirty miles, to the empty and desolate walls of Vindonium, or Silchester, the city of the Segontiaci; the obscure history of the final catastrophe of which, we trust, has at length been in part elucidated. (5)

(1) Antoninus, Iter. xv. Bede, ut supra.

(2) Vol. I, p. 10.

(3) Vol. I, p. 418.

(4) "Ann. DCCCCLXXI. Hoc anno decessit Eadmundus Clito ejusque corpus jacet apud Rumesige." Chron. Sax.

(5) Vol. I, p. 64.

But it is time to descend from our aerial situation, on the summit of St. Giles's-hill, and to return from our ideal survey of distant antiquities, which the view from thence of the respective roads leading to them, naturally suggested; in order to finish our actual survey of the Soke of Winchester.

Returning by the upper end of St. John's-street, we are there on a spot which was formerly called *Bubby's*, (1) now *Bub's Cross*. This was probably a great calvaire or crucifix, which, from such a situation, must have been visible from most parts of the city. Having descended, by a steep passage, called *Redhouse-lane*, (2) to the foot of the hill; we find ourselves at the upper end of *Water-lane*, whence a hasty glance at the glades, lawns, and streams, half open to the view, and half hidden by branching elms and poplars, which compose the pleasure grounds of *Eastgate-house*, will convince the spectator that it is not without reason we have before spoken of their *Elysian beauty*. Proceeding northward, we see a row of small new-built cottages. These were erected by the late master of *Magdalen-hospital*, for the brethren of that ancient charity, at the time when he took down their proper dwelling. In digging for the foundations of these, in the year 1789, the workmen broke into a range of Roman sepulchres. Nine of them were opened, in all of which human bones were found; and five of the number contained urns of black pottery, exceedingly well shaped and tempered, one of them being fluted and the rest plain. Out of one of the sepulchres was taken a true Roman fibula, (3) a coin, apparently of *Augustus Cæsar*, and some other antiques. (4) At the termination of *Water-lane*, is *Waley-street*, (5) improperly called *Welsh-street*, (6) conducting to the village of *Winnal*; of which, indeed, it is generally considered as a part. In this village, which is now small and inconsiderable, but which once was ennobled by the high-born knight who derived his title from it, (7) is a

(1) Survey of the Soke, MS. (2) Godson's Map of Winchester.

(3) Such as are to be met with in the plates of Grevius and Montfaucon.

(4) See the plate, with a letter from the writer, addressed to R. G. S. A. D. published in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. III.

(5) Survey of Soke.

(6) Godson's Map.

(7) See above, p. 76.

small but ancient church, dedicated to St. Martin. At the point where Waley-street and Water-lane meet, is a passage over the river; there are also the remains of a postern, improperly called *Dun-gate*, or *Durn-gate*. (1) The real ancient name of it is *Bourn-gate*, (2) or *River-gate*; very properly so called, as it is nearly surrounded by the different branches of the Itchen. Having here entered again into the precincts of the city, we see on our left hand the inclosure walls; first of the Dominicans, and near to them of the Franciscans; the latter of which are still in tolerably good preservation. On our right hand, as we proceed, we have all the way the north wall of the city, consisting chiefly of flint stone and hard mortar, and being most probably of Saxon workmanship. At certain distances we discover the traces and ruins of the turrets made to strengthen it, and in some places the wall retains its full height, being crenated or embattled, and having copings of free stone. These, with the turrets, were probably added by the Normans, soon after the Conquest. Behind this wall is the mead anciently the *Hydemedede* or *Denemarch*, (3) the place of combat between the Danish champion Colbrand, and our Saxon hero Guy of Warwick; a detailed account of which has been already given. (4) In the wall itself is a stone, on which a representation of this combat was said to have been visible a few years ago. This wall of the city joins the west wall at the Hermit's Tower, which we have already surveyed. In viewing the walls at this their junction, we are enabled to form an idea of the ancient shape of the city, as it was reduced into form by the Romans; being that of their camps, a parallelogram, with the corners rounded off. (5)

(1) So called in the MS. Survey.

(2) "The 6th gate is betwixt north gate and est gate, no great thing, but as a postern gate, namid *Bourne gate*." Leland.

(3) Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. III, c. VIII.

(4) Vol. I, p. 146, et deinceps.

(5) See Military Remains in Britain, by Gen. Le Roy. Fol. Sump. Soc. Ant.

CHAP. XI.

North Gate.—Reflections on the Destruction of the City Fortifications.—Ancient Churches in this Quarter.—History of the Foundation of the New Minster.—Royal Personages there interred.—Nature of its first Institute.—Reformed by St. Ethelwold and King Edgar.—Imprudent Conduct of one of its Abbots, and fatal Consequences of the same.—Simony of another Abbot and of his Son.—Inconveniences experienced at New Minster.—Removal of the Abbey to Hyde.—Account of the burning of it in the Civil War of King Stephen's Reign.—Rebuilt and attains to great Eminence under Henry II.—Remaining History of the Abbey, down to its Dissolution.—Behaviour of Salcot, its last Abbot.—Men of Note whom this Abbey has produced.—List of its Abbots.—Disposal of its Property by Henry VIII.—The Erection of a Bridewell on the Site of the Church.—Antiques discovered on digging for its Foundations.—Ruins of the Abbey existing at present.

WE have now extended our Survey over the whole city and suburbs of Winchester, with the exception of the northern suburb. This contains the remains of one celebrated religious establishment, deserving our particular notice, and which will form the chief subject of this concluding chapter. In order to view this, we proceed through one of those hideous gaps, where until of late stood a city gate, constituting at once its ornament and defence. Strange it is that men who make profession of consulting the dignity and embellishment of Winchester, reduced as it is to the mere skeleton of its former state; should pretend to effect this by destroying its principal structures, and the honourable marks of its distinction, as an ancient city. We have been assured that these fortifications, such as they were, more than

once stopped the fury of a riotous populace from gaining possession of the city. (1) Whether this has or has not been the case in past times, we evidently see that they might possibly answer that important purpose on a future occasion. Whilst our military gates are demolished on one hand, we see that the adjoining fosses are filled up on the other. This appears, in particular, by looking into that on our right hand in the present situation, where a quantity of earth has been thrown in, to form a flower garden; whilst that on the left hand has suffered no other change, except from the slow hand of time; since, as we have remarked, (2) it made part of the fish stews that surrounded the royal palace at this corner of the city.—Adjoining to the North-gate, in the inside, was the church of *All Hallows*, and on the outside that of *St. Mary*. In an adjoining lane, which leads to Whitchurch, now called Swan-lane, seems to have been the church of *St. Nicholas in the Fishery*. (3)—A considerable way down Hyde-street, on the west side of it, is a very celebrated Grammar-school, under the conduct of the Rev. Mr. Richards. The house and garden contain certain erections and decorations of the reign of Elizabeth or James I. but about the year 1779, in digging for a cellar, some curiosities of a much higher antiquity were discovered; namely, a range of Roman sepulchres, similar to those described above, but much more numerous, containing urns both well shaped and of an excellent composition. (4)

At a small distance, on the opposite side of the way, stood the venerable structure, from which this street received its name, Hyde-Abbey. The founder of this establishment, in its former situation, was the great Alfred. He had already built a convent for monks at Athelingay, the place of his retreat, whilst the Danish tyranny prevailed throughout this part of the kingdom; and another at Shaftesbury for nuns, of which his daughter

(1) Warton's History, p. 21. Anonymous History, vol. II, p. 89, 90.

(2) Above, p. 188.

(3) S. Nicholai infra Pisces.

(4) Twelve of these were presented to the late Gustavus Brander, esq. One of them, in our possession, is engraved in the Miscellaneous Plate, vol. I.

Ethelgiva became abbess. (1) He had also assisted his religious queen, Eanswitha or Alswitha, in erecting and endowing her abbey of St. Mary, in this city, whither she retired upon his death: still, however, this pious monarch meditated another great work of this kind, namely, a royal monastery, in this his capital city, which might serve as a burying-place for himself and his family, and where the accustomed rites of religion might for ever be performed for them. He only lived to begin this great work, which was finished by his son and successor, Edward the Elder, in 903, (2) two years after the death of Alfred, when it was solemnly dedicated by archbishop Plegmund, in honour of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, and St. Peter and St. Paul. (3) The great promoter of this establishment, who afterwards was acknowledged as the holy patron of it, was St. Grimbold; originally a monk of St. Bertin's monastery in Artois, but who had been brought into England by Alfred, in order to assist him in founding his University of Oxford, where he became the first professor of the Holy Scriptures. (4) Having in his old age resigned this employment, and being desirous of returning to his own monastery of St. Bertin's; he was detained by the offer that was made to him of the New Monastery, at Winchester, to be regulated and governed in the manner he should think best. (5) He did not long retain his superiority here, closing his pious life with a most holy and edifying death (6) in 904. He was buried in the coffin which, as a memento of mortality, he caused to be made for himself, whilst he taught divinity at Oxford, and which he had brought with him to Winchester, when he came to reside here. (7)

The site of this *Newan Æynstre*, or New Monastery, as it was called, occupied the whole north side of the *Ealden Æynstre*, or Old Monastery, as the cathedral was henceforward named; with some portions of ground to

(1) Will. Malm. De Pontif. l. II.

(2) "Construxit Alfredus Novum Monasterium, & hoc sonat quòd incæpit fundare." Rudb. Hist. l. III, c. VI. Chron. Sax. an. 903.

(3) Lib. de Hide, cited by Harpsfield and Cressy. (4) Ibid. Spelman. Vit. Alfredi.

(5) Annal. Wint.

(6) Annales de Hyde, ap. Cressy.

(7) Ibid.

the east of it. (1) So high was the value of ground in this part of the city at the time we are speaking of, and so intent was king Edward on completing the pious task imposed upon him by his father; that, in order to obtain a space sufficient for some of the offices belonging to it, he actually paid the astonishing sum, as it was then considered, of a mark of gold for every acre of land that he purchased. (2) This worthy son of Alfred was not less bountiful in endowing, than he had been in building the New Monastery. By a charter, signed at Hampton, he settled upon it the manors of Hyde and Anne, (3) together with great privileges and exemptions. He afterwards gave to it the manors of Stratton, Micheldever, Popham, &c. in this neighbourhood. (4) Other great men likewise signalized themselves by different presents which they made to it on the occasion of its dedication. Amongst these none was more acceptable to St. Grimbald, than the relics of St. Jodocus; (5) which certain people of Picardy, who sought a refuge in this country from the fury of the Danes, then carrying slaughter and devastation through the northern provinces of France, brought along with them. Most of our succeeding princes became benefactors to this monastery; as Athelstan, Edmund, Edred, Edwy, Edgar, Etheldred, Canute, and St. Edward. (6) It is recorded of Canute that he bestowed upon it a large cross of silver and gold, adorned with precious stones, which probably had not its equal in value in the whole kingdom, and which was thought to be worth its entire yearly revenue. (7)

In conformity with the directions of the original founder, Alfred, as soon as the New Monastery was completed, his remains were translated hither

(1) Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. III, c. VII.

(2) Will. Malm. De Pontif. l. II. Rudb.

(3) Viz. Abbot's Ann. Lib. de Hyde.

(4) Rudb.

(5) This Jodocus was the son of a British prince in the seventh century, who renouncing his worldly inheritance, led a solitary life at a place on the coast of Picardy, which from him was afterwards called Villers St. Josse. Butler's Lives of Saints.

(6) Rudb. Hist. Maj. Dugdale, Monastic.

(7) Rudb. Camden. Trussel.—This was an exaggerated account. The cross when melted contained only 30 marks of gold and 500 of silver. Annales Wint.

from the cathedral, where they had been buried in the interim. (1) In this same monastery were interred Alfred's pious queen Alswitha, though she had died at St. Mary's convent, of which she was abbess; (2) his youngest son Ethelward, who devoted himself to a studious life, and resided chiefly at Oxford; (3) Edward the Elder himself; Alfred, a son of the last mentioned, who died in his nonage; Elfreda and Ethelhilda, two of his daughters, the former of whom was abbess of Romsey, whilst the latter led an exemplary life in the world; (4) king Edwy, and the aforesaid St. Grimbald. It is plain, from the uncommon number of stone coffins and other marks of distinction found in the graves which were lately opened amongst the ruins of Hyde-abbey; that these formed a small part of the illustrious personages who had been buried in this monastery, in one or other of its situations.

It had been the intention of St. Grimbald, who was himself a monk, to fill this noble monastery with persons of his own profession; but the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of monks for this purpose, (5) after the horrible slaughter which the Danes had lately made of them in most parts of the kingdom, joined to the solicitations of many clergy, illustrious for their birth and merits, who, though not of the monastic institute, were desirous of living and studying under the directions of so renowned a master and guide as our saint, induced him to establish it as a convent of canon regulars, instead of monks. (6) We are told, however, that in the course of a few weeks he returned to his original design, and was actually employed in taking measures to introduce the rule of St. Benedict into his house, when he was carried off by his last sickness. (7) In consequence of this, the

(1) Asserius. Will. Malm. De Reg.

(2) Annales de Hyde, ap. Cressy.

(3) Rudb.

(4) Will. Malm.

(5) Asser. Vit. Alf. See vol. i, p. 134.

(6) The donation of Micheldever, *for the refectory of the religious brethren of the New Monastery*, made by Edward the Elder, plainly shews that these canons at first lived in common, and of course were a species of religious.

(7) Annales de Hyde, ap. Cressy. Ecc. Hist. i. xxx.

establishment continued to be that of canon regulars during the space of 60 years; and we may fairly conclude, that it for some time flourished in regular discipline and piety, as well as in learning, from its producing such eminent and holy men as our prelates St. Frithstan and St. Brinstan certainly were; when, at length, it became the scene of the greatest irregularities and dissolution, chiefly, we may suppose, during the profligate reign of the young king Edwy. The canons, who by this time were become mere seculars, neglected the care of the church and the performance of the divine office, which it was their particular institute to celebrate. This they left to be performed by inferior clergymen, whom they hired at an easy rate for the purpose; living themselves out of the monastery, and spending the greatest part of its revenues at a distance from it. (1) What gave still greater scandal, was their openly trampling on their vows of celibacy; contracting illicit marriages, and, by the same rule, turning away the women with whom they cohabited, and taking others, as their inclinations prompted them. (2) Our zealous prelate, St. Ethelwold, supported by the authority of the great king Edgar, endeavoured to remedy these disorders, without absolutely changing the institute of the place. He began by dismissing the non-resident canons, and bestowing their prebends on the clergy who had hitherto supplied their places; but these, becoming rich and independant, were soon found to be worse than their predecessors. (3) In

(1) "*Clerici illi, nomine tenus Canonici, frequentationem chori, labores vigiliarum et ministerium altaris vicariis suis utcumque sustentatis relinquentes, et ab ecclesiæ conspectu, ne dicam Dei, plerumque absentes septennis, quidquid de præbendis percipiebant, locis et modis sibi placitis absumebant.*" *Annales Wint. an. 959. Aug. Sac. vol. 1, p. 289.*

(2) "*Repudiantes uxores, quas illicitè duxerant et alias accipientes.*" *Rudborne, Hist. Maj. l. III, c. XII.*

(3) "*Rex Edgarns ista considerans et dolens tam divites eleemosynas, collatas ecclesiæ, non in ecclesiâ, nec in ministris ecclesiæ, nec in pauperibus expendi, thrasonibus sæpe consuluit per episcopum eorum Athelwoldum et per Dunstanum archiepiscopum, ut bona ecclesiæ non sine causâ percipientes, in ecclesiâ perpetuam facerent stationem. Canonicis mandata regis et monita surdâ aure transeuntibus, et nolentibus singulis pro annuo canone 1000 librarum auri, vel per annum esse claustralibus; rex instans proposito, & malens per*

conclusion, the civil and ecclesiastical authorities both joining in the measure, the constitution of this establishment underwent an alteration; all the canons, who refused to take the cowl and submit to monastic discipline, being dismissed, and their places supplied by a colony of monks from Abingdon, as had been done in the cathedral priory the year before. (1) Over these was placed, in quality of abbot, a man of great merit and talents, Athelgar or Algar, who was afterwards successively promoted to the sees of Selsea and of Canterbury.

For the space of an entire century, after its subjection to the rule of St. Benedict, the New Minster affords little or no materials for history: the best proof that the rule was well observed in it; and that the monks, intent on their spiritual advancement, took no part in the great political events, which during that period convulsed the kingdom. Unfortunately this was not the case under Alwyn, the eighth abbot since St. Grimbald. Being of noble Saxon blood, and uncle to king Harold, he could not submit that his country should fall under the Norman yoke, and his nephew be dispossessed of a crown, which he considered as his right. Hence, not content with the proper arms of his profession, prayers, tears, and arguments, he, with twelve of his monks, had recourse to the material sword; (2) all of whom paid, with their lives, the price of their temerity and profaneness, in the fatal *Vale of Sanglac*. (3) This behaviour so enraged the Conqueror, that he treated the New Minster with more than his usual tyranny; seizing upon all its estates, which he either reserved for his own use, or bestowed upon the officers of his army, (4) and keeping the abbey itself in his hands for a long time, without allowing a new abbot to be chosen. (5) Amongst

canonicos quam per aliud genus arctioris religionis administrari negotium, ablatas quibusdam eorum præbendas contulit vicariis, quos viderat in ecclesiâ perstantes assiduè. Sed et illi promoti in canonicatum, vicarios sibi facientes, facti sunt similes vel vagaciores & sæculares prioribus." *Annales Wint.* an. 959.

(1) *Annales Wint.* an. 959. *Rudb. Chron. Sax.*

(2) *Monasticon*.

(3) The field of Hastings, so called by the Conqueror in his last testament, on account of the quantity of blood there shed.

(4) *Hist. Maj.* l. v, c. 1.

(5) *Monasticon*.

other property of these monks, he alienated, what they could least spare, namely part of their narrow inclosure, which, we have seen, had been purchased at so high a price. (1) On this situation, being the north-west end of the present church-yard, including the Square, he erected a new palace, or probably enlarged that which the West Saxon kings had heretofore occupied near it. (2) Having gratified himself in this point, and his resentment being, at the end of three years, appeased; he permitted the monks to proceed to the election of a superior, when the choice fell upon Wulfric. He likewise restored part of the confiscated abbey lands, and gave other possessions in exchange for the remaining part of them. (3)

The anger of the first William, however, was not more injurious to this establishment than was the avarice of the second William. During the whole of his unprincipled reign, the New Minster was in the hands of the king's wicked agent, Ralph Passeflabere, who either sacrilegiously received the rents of it for his master's use, or simoniacally sold them to the highest bidder. For the space of seven of these years the oppressed monks were forced to yield obedience to the unworthy Robert de Losinga, in quality of their abbot; his son Herbert, bishop of Norwich, having purchased this dignity of the corrupt minister, by way of a provision for his father. This scandalous transaction gave occasion to the following severe satire, which is here inserted at length, in vindication both of the learning and morality of the age; inasmuch as it proves the general indignation which such proceedings then occasioned:—

*Surgit in ecclesiâ monstrum, genitore Losingâ,
Simonidum secta, canonum virtute resectâ,
Petre nimis tardas; nam Simon ad ardua tendit. (4)*

(1) Doomsday Book.—In Etere habet abbatia S. Petri unam ecclesiâ et 1111 hidas et unam aram terræ, hanc dedit ecclesiæ Wilhelmus rex pro ercambio terræ in qua domus regis est in civitate. See also Beteham Hundret. Also Chartam de Inspex. ap. Dugdale.

(2) Girald. Camb. Cop. Tergem.

(3) Codex Winton. ut supra. Chart. de Inspex.

(4) This censure is levelled at the pope for not casting down the New Simon, bishop Herbert, from his ill-gotten dignities.

*Si præsens esses non Simon ad alta volaret.
 Proh Dolor! ecclesiæ nummis venduntur, et ære
 Filius est Præsul, pater Abbas, Simon uterque. (1)*

At length, in Henry Beauclerk, this abbey found a true friend and protector. Upon his accession to the throne, a regular abbot was chosen, and as the Old Minster or priory of St. Swithun, by the zealous endeavours of its superiors, Simon and Godfrey, had then attained to a high reputation for piety and monastic discipline; a monk from thence, by name Hugh, (2) was chosen to restore the same in the New Minster, where a great relaxation must unavoidably have taken place, under the circumstances of the late reign. It is probable also, that the fabric of the monastery had been equally neglected, and this at a period when almost all the great religious establishments were intent upon enlarging and improving their churches and monasteries, under the direction of Norman architects. There was not, however, sufficient space for any great works of this nature in the confined enclosure of New Minster. Hence, however strongly the attachment of the monks must necessarily have been to the walls and soil, which had been given them by the great Alfred, and had been sanctified by the residence of the holy Grimbold; yet they began to look out for a new and more extensive situation, to which they might remove their monastery. Other considerations, still more cogent, concurred to render the measure adviseable, and even necessary. The castle, having been built by the Conqueror, on an elevated situation, at the west end of the city; in order to increase its strength, ditches were dug of such a depth, as to admit a branch of the river to flow round it. This occasioned the flowing of a stream of water from thence through the heart of the city, which settled and stagnated

(1) Mat. Westmonast. an. 1094.—*A new monster arises in the church, of which Losinga is the parent, the sect of Simon, which flourishes, in defiance of the church laws. Peter, thou art inactive whilst Simon is raising himself to the clouds! If thou wert here, Simon would soon be again dashed to the earth. Alas! the church becomes the prey of gold, whilst we see that money can make the son a bishop and the father an abbot, each of them being a Simon.*

(2) Monasticon.

round the New Minster, rendering its situation exceedingly unwholesome. (1) This was an inconvenience of a later date; but another very material one had subsisted ever since the foundation of the abbey. Its church had been built parallel with the cathedral, and stood so near to it, that the voices and organs of the two choirs mutually confounded and interrupted each other. (2) For all these reasons it became the general wish of both monasteries, and of the bishop himself, who was William Giffard, that the later of these foundations might remove to some other place. The king concurring in the same opinion, a magnificent church and monastery were erected chiefly at his expence, in Hyde-meadow; and, as the situation was low and near the springs, a thick coating of clay was spread over the whole surface of earth which was built upon. (3) This work being completed, the monks of New Minster left the situation which they had now occupied for more than two centuries, and marched in solemn procession to their new abbey; carrying with them not only the relics of the saints, (4) but also the remains of the illustrious personages that had rested in their old church, which they deposited in the new one, now erected for them at Hyde. This event took place in 1110. (5) The situation which had been abandoned, was surrendered into the king's hands, who transferred it to the bishop, for the benefit of the cathedral monastery, (6) to which it had originally belonged. In return, the king, amongst other benefactions to the new abbey of Hyde, granted three additional days for the continuance of the fair on St. Giles's-hill, the profits of which were to be paid to it by the bishop. (7) The king settled and confirmed the rights and privileges of this establishment in other particulars; amongst which one regards the procession, that the two monasteries had been accustomed to make in common

(1) Camden's Britannia, Hampshire. Trussel's MSS.—Malmsbury, comparing the new abbey with the old, says of it, "*sanius incolitur, liberius insignitur.*" De Reg. et De Pontif.

(2) Will. Malm. *ibid.*

(3) This was discovered at the building of the Bridewell.

(4) Leland's Itin. vol. III, p. 102.

(5) Annal. Wint. ad dict. an.

(6) Cart. ap. Dugdale.

(7) *Ibid.*

to the church of St. James above the castle. This matter seemed then of so much importance, as to be a subject of regulation in a royal charter, in the manner that has been related above. (1)

The abbey thus founded and protected; no doubt the members of it flattered themselves with the prospect of long continued peace and security. This, however, was not granted them: for in the very next reign, that dreadful civil war breaking out between the empress and king Stephen, which spent its first and most destructive fury upon our city; this royal abbey was burnt to the ground, by the party of the latter; the fire which then consumed it having been enkindled at the north-gate. (2) This destructive measure has generally been ascribed to bishop De Blois, on account of his attempting soon after to get this abbey suppressed by the pope, and a bishop's seat, which should be one of the suffragan bishoprics to his intended metropolitan see of Winchester, erected in its stead. (3) After all, it does not appear that the bishop was otherwise the author of this or of the other conflagrations, in which so many churches and monasteries, as well as private houses, perished; except in as much as he contributed by his ungracious behaviour towards the empress, to re-kindle the civil war, and by his admitting into his castle of Wolvesey a general of William of Ipres's disposition, whose usual method of besieging a place was to set fire to it. (4) It is even supposed that the bishop was not in Winchester when this and St. Mary's abbey were burnt down, but rather at his castle of Waltham. (5) It is certain, however, that this prelate seized upon the gold and silver of the

(1) Cart. ap. Dugdale.

(2) Trussel's MSS.

(3) "Ipse (Henricus Blesensis) exegit apud papam quod de episcopatu Wintoniensi archiepiscopatum faceret, & de abbatiâ de Hidâ episcopatum." *Annal. Wint. an. 1143.*—"Huic Henrico episcopo Lucius papa pallium misit, A. D. 1142, volens apud Wyntoniam archiepiscopum constituere, & secundum Angliæ primatem, & septem ei episcopos, qui olim ad regnum Westsaxonum pertinebant, additâ natâ legacia." *Hist. Wint. Epitome. Ang. Sac. vol. 1, p. 285.*

(4) "Fautores Henrici episcopi ecclesiam sanctimonialium Wintoniæ & de Werewellâ & ecclesiam de Hidâ incenderunt." *Annal. Wint. an. 1146.* See vol. 1, p. 214.

(5) Trussel's MSS.

great cross given to the New Minster by Canute, when it was melted in the flames which consumed the abbey; but with what particular views we are not informed: and it is also certain that a canonical process was instituted against him, on this and on other accounts, by its abbot, Hugh, who was aided in his cause by the talents and influence of the great St. Bernard. (1) In whatever manner this controversy was decided, it is clear that the church and abbey of Hyde were rebuilt with increased magnificence in the reign of Henry II. and that it soon became one of the most distinguished abbeys in the kingdom. Hence its superior was one of the twenty-four abbots who, as soon as parliaments began to be held, were summoned to attend them in the upper house. (2)

The remaining history of Hyde-abbey, down to its suppression, as far as we have been enabled to collect it, may be related in a few words. We find it occasionally visited by the diocesan bishops, as well as by the archbishops and popes' legates; (3) one of whom, Otho, A.D. 1267, in leaving the church, inflicted an interdict upon it, which continued during the space of four weeks, on account of a certain quarrel between his servants and those of the abbey. (4) We have, in the Monasticon, a receipt for a quantity of church plate, which Edward III. extorted from this, amongst other monasteries under the title of a loan, in order to enable him to carry on his expensive wars on the continent. (5) Our illustrious Wykeham, by his last will, gave a rich cup of silver, plated with gold, of the value of 10 *l.* to the abbot, and certain sums of money to the other members of Hyde, with the obligation of praying for the repose of his soul. (6) A bequest of this nature from such a person, seems to plead in favour of the regularity and piety of those to whom it was made, at the time we are speaking of. His successor, cardinal Beaufort, left the sum of 200 *l.* for repairing the abbey. (7) This seems to argue that the fabric of the house was in a very bad condition, as it is certain that a great quantity of work could then be executed for such a sum; as

(1) *Annal. Wint.* ad an. 1149, 1151.(2) *Monastic. &c.*(3) *Annal. Wint. et Wigorn.*(4) *Ibid.* ad. an. 1247.(5) *In Append.*(6) *Testam. W. W.* ap. Lowth.(7) *Vetust. Mon.* vol. III.

likewise, that its finances were not comparatively so great as we might have expected, since they stood in need of being helped out by this foreign aid.

At length, in an age of domineering impiety, the establishment and resting place of the deliverer of England, and the founder of its constitution, became a prey to sacrilegious avarice; and its revenues, instead of invigorating the surrounding country, and supporting the general cause of literature and piety, now impoverished the peasantry, in order to swell the pride of two or three worthless courtiers. The king's vicar-general in *spiritual matters*, Cromwell, had certainly no cause to complain of the intractableness of the abbot of Hyde, whose name was Salcot, alias Capon; or to tamper with any of the private monks, to become his agents in effecting a surrender of the common property; as Capon was himself a base time-serving courtier, who made the views and passions of a wicked prince the only rule of his conduct. He had been exceedingly industrious in engaging the University of Cambridge, of which he was a member, to declare the lawfulness of Henry's putting away his queen, and marrying again. (1) In return for this service, he had been promoted to the see of Bangor, which he was allowed to hold, *in commendam*, with the abbey of Hyde. (2) On the other hand, as Henry, whilst he executed Catholics as traitors, burnt the Protestants as heretics; Dr. Capon had no objection to become his agent also in these scenes of blood. Accordingly we find him the most forward in bringing the Protestants of Windsor to the stake, and expressing his desire of pursuing the same measures throughout the kingdom. (3) In a word, this last abbot of Hyde not only signed, on his own part, a formal surrender of the abbey to the commissioners; but also, by the advantages which his situation gave him, procured to this instrument the signatures of his community, consisting of twenty-one monks, without mentioning novices and servants. (4) In reward of this conduct, he was the next year promoted to the vacant see of Salisbury. (5) Concerning this transaction, the learned Protestant, (6) from

(1) Stephen's Monast, vol. II, p. 502.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Fox's Acts and Monum.

(4) Monastic. p. 503.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Stephens.

whom we have borrowed a great part of the history of Dr. Capon, has the following remark: "What wonder that in a depraved age surrenders should be so universal, when the betrayers of their trust, the sacrilegious Judas's, were made bishops; and those who had the conscience and courage to assert the rights of the church, that is the possessions given to God, were sure to be rewarded with a halter." (1)

The men of note belonging to this monastery, whose names we have been able to collect, are St. Grimbald, the first superior; St. Brinstan and St. Frithstan, successive bishops of Winchester; Athelgar, archbishop of Canterbury; Brithwold and Brithmar, the former bishop of Winchester, the latter of Lichfield; Walter, who, from being sub-prior of Hyde, was promoted to be prior of the cathedral of Bath, which monastery he reformed to the utmost strictness of the Benedictine rule. (2) Being a man of great piety, and desirous of greater solitude and perfection, he betook himself to a convent of Carthusians; which however he was afterwards induced to quit, and to return to his former charge, by the persuasion of one of his friends, a monk of Hyde-abbey, who happened to find him there. He died at the monastery of Wherwell, whither he had gone upon some business, in 1198, but was conveyed to Bath for interment. (3) Finally, in the 13th century, we meet with one John, a learned and pious monk of Hyde-abbey, who left behind him a book of homilies, and other works. (4) We do not agree with those writers, who make the learned monk Thomas Rudborne, in the 15th century, a member of this community; (5) since it seems certain, from his own works, independently of other arguments, that he belonged to St. Swithun's priory.

We are unacquainted with the superiors of New Minster who succeeded St. Grimbald, but we have a regular list of those who governed it after it became a Benedictine abbey.

(1) Viz. the abbots of Glassenbury, Colchester, Reading, &c.

(2) "Postquam monachos monastico ordine ad unguem informaverat." *Annal. Wint.* ad. an. 1198.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Monastic.*

(5) *Pitsius, &c.*

Abbots of New Minster.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Athelgar, afterwards bishop of Selsey and archbishop of Canterbury, was appointed abbot of New Minster by its reformer, St. Ethelwold, in 964. 2. Alsius was elected to succeed him in 978. 3. Brightwold succeeded the latter in 995, and seems to have been raised to the episcopal chair of this city. 4. In 1008 Brithmar was chosen abbot, who afterwards became bishop of Lichfield. 5. Althonus, an. 1021. 6. Alwynus, an. 1025. 7. Alfnotus, an. 1057. 8. Alwynus II. an. 1063. the uncle of | <p>Harold, killed at the battle of Hastings.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. Wulfrie, an. 1069. 10. Rewelanus succeeded Wulfric, and was deposed in 1071. 11. Radulphus died in 1087, when Rufus's minister having sold the abbey, 12. Robert de Losigna was intruded into it as abbot, by the authority of the wicked Ralph Passeflabere. 13. Hugh, a monk of St. Swithun's, canonically chosen. 14. Galfridus, elected in 1106. In his time New Minster, in the cathedral church-yard, was abandoned, in consequence of which his successors are to be denominated |
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Abbots of Hyde.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 15. Osbert, an. 1124. 16. Hugh of Lens, said to have been appointed abbot by bishop De Blois in 1135. He was deposed in 1149. 17. Salidus, died in 1171. 18. Thomas, who had been prior of Monacute, resigned in 1180. 19. John Suthill, a prior of the order of Cluny, died in 1222. 20. Walter de Aston, deceased in 1249. 21. Roger de St. Waleric, ob. 1263. 22. William de Wigornia, ob. 1282. 23. Robert de Popham, ob. 1292. 24. Simon de Caninges, ob. 1304. 25. Geoffry de Feringes, resigned 1317. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 26. William de Odiham, an. 1319. 27. Walter de Fyfyhyde. 28. Thomas Piethy 29. John Eynesham, ob. 1394. 30. John Letcombe. 31. John London, ob. 1413. 32. Nicholas Strode. 33. Thomas Bouville. 34. Henry Bromele. 35. Thomas Wyrcester. 36. Thomas Forte. 37. Richard Hall. 38. John Salcot, alias Capon, became abbot of Hyde about the year 1528, which he surrendered, in the manner described above, in April 1538. (1) |
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(1) Monasticon, vol. II.

Upon the dissolution of Hyde-abbey, many of its best estates, particularly the manors of Micheldever and Stratton, were obtained by Henry lord Wriothesley, afterwards earl of Southampton; from whose family they passed by marriage to that of the Russels, which was already gorged with church property. The site of the church and monastery was granted to Richard Bethel, after the term of a lease made to the aforesaid lord Wriothesley. (1) What the intent of that lease was we may easily judge; namely, that he might have leisure to dispose of whatever was saleable upon the premises. In conformity with this plan, he was in such haste to pull down this magnificent fabric; that Leland, when he visited the city a very few years after, spoke of the abbey as of a fabric that had existed, but then existed no longer. (2) In Camden's time the ruins of it were still magnificent; (3) but the author of the *Monasticon* complains that, when he wrote, the very ruins of it had perished. (4) It is plain that on the destruction of the church, at the time above mentioned, the tombs of the illustrious dead which it contained, were broken into; since we are assured that two little tables of lead, inscribed with the names of Alfred and his son Edward, were found in the monument which contained their remains. (5) What became of these we are not informed: most likely they were left amongst the ruins; as to shew any particular respect to them in the reign we are speaking of, would have been equivalent to condemning the suppression of the abbey, which was founded to be their mausoleum.

The present age being unhappily no less distinguished (such is the state of its morals) for the erection of gaols and bridewells, than many past ages have been for the building of churches and monasteries; amongst other sacred spots which have been chosen for these receptacles of guilt, (6) has

(1) Collier, *Ecc. Hist.* vol. II.

(2) "In this suburbe stode the great abbay of Hyde, and hath yet a parochie churche." *Itin.* vol. III, p. 102.

(3) *Britannia*, Hampshire.

(4) Vol. II, p. 502.

(5) Leland, *ut supra*.

(6) A gaol has also been erected upon the ruins of the famous abbey of Reading, the foundation and chosen burial place of Henry I.

been the exact site of the most sacred part of Hyde-abbey, namely, the church and choir. Thus miscreants couch amidst the ashes of our Alfreds and Edwards; and where once religious silence and contemplation were only interrupted by the bell of regular observance, and the chanting of devotion; now alone resound the clank of the captive's chain, and the oaths of the profligate! In digging for the foundations of that mournful edifice, at almost every stroke of the mattock or spade, some ancient sepulchre was violated; the venerable contents of which were treated with marked indignity. (1) On this occasion a great number of stone coffins, of the form that is represented in our title page, were dug up; with a variety of other curious articles, such as chalices, patins, rings, buckles, (2) the leather of shoes and boots, velvet and gold lace belonging to chasibles and other vestments; as also the crook rims and joints of a beautiful crosier, double gilt.

Nothing now remains of this magnificent edifice, once judged worthy to form a cathedral, except some ruinous out-houses, and a large barn, once probably the abbot's hall, which seems to bespeak the workmanship of the 12th century. The adjoining gate-way, with a flat arch and a canopy, supported by the busts of Alfred and Edward, is probably of a later date by three centuries. The parish church of St. Bartholomew indeed remains, the greater part of which shews an antiquity as high as the first foundation of the abbey; whilst the addition that appears to have been made to it so lately as the reign of Henry VII. is quite in ruins. This church never formed any part of the abbey itself; but, like the parish church of St. Swithun with respect to the cathedral, was intended for the benefit of the servants and other lay persons belonging to the monastery. From the church there is a causeway, upon the bank of the stream, that passed through the abbey, which retains the name of the Monks Walk, and conducts to their possessions at *Wordie*, (3)

(1) The writer of this was in some degree witness to the scene which he describes.

(2) See engravings of some of these articles in our Miscellaneous Plate, vol. I.

(3) Cart. de Inspex.

now called *Worthy*. We must add that many capitals of columns, busts, and other ornaments, which have been dug out of the ruins here, are to be seen in different parts of the city; and particularly at the bridewell itself, where there are also two stone coffins. But the most remarkable curiosity of this nature was taken out of the ruins above 40 years ago, and placed in a wall in St. Peter's-street, being an inscription in pure Saxon characters, containing the name of ALFRED, and the date DCCCLXXXI. (1) This date demonstrates the error of those persons who suppose it to have been the foundation stone of the New Minster, which was not begun to be built until about 20 years later. Most likely, upon the removal of the abbey to Hyde, this inscription was placed under a bust of the immortal Alfred, to commemorate its original founder.

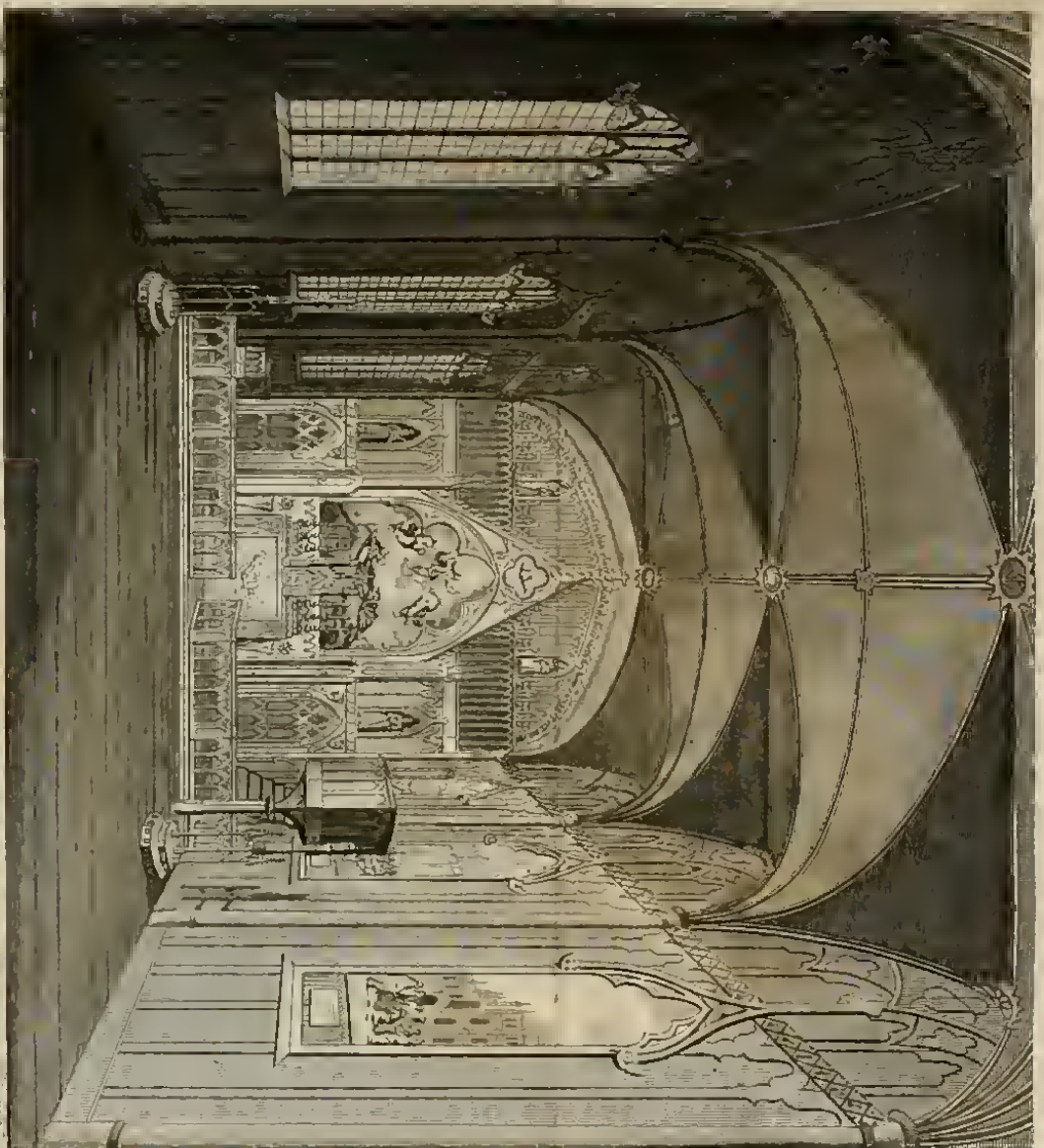
(1) See our Miscellaneous Plate, vol. I.—These characters were in use so late as the reign of Henry II. as appears by the Chronicle of the abbey of Peterborough, usually called the Saxon Chronicle. The stone itself is now in the possession of Henry Howard, esq. of Corby Castle.

SUPPLEMENT.

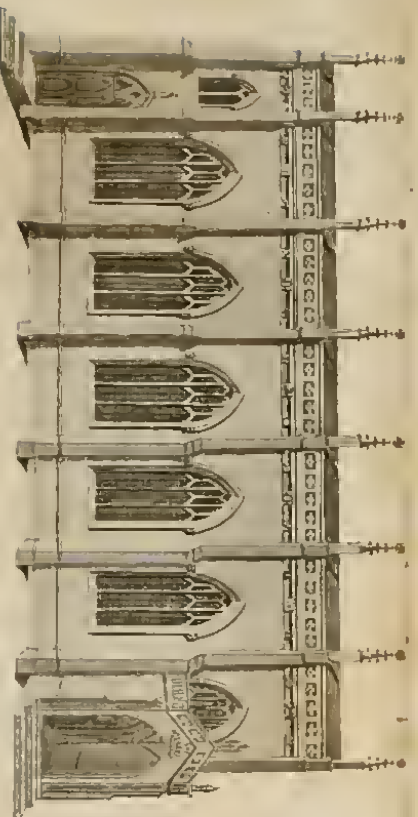
DESCRIPTION OF ST. PETER'S CHAPEL, WINCHESTER.

THOUGH the chapel of St. Peter has no title to a separate and detailed description, either for its antiquity or its importance, yet as many of its ornaments are illustrative of different antiquities relating to this city, and as such a description is frequently called for by strangers; the Author has been induced to annex it to the present Survey, by way of Supplement: which those persons who are desirous of information on this subject may consult; whilst others, who judge it to be unworthy of their notice, may pass it over, and here take their leave of him as their guide.

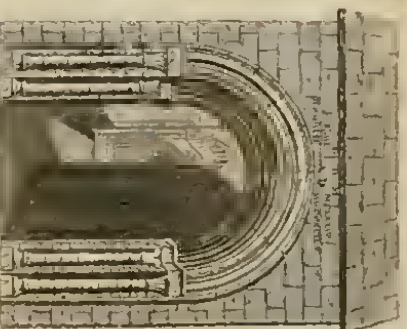
Returning from Hyde-abbey by the North-gate, we are at no great distance from St. Peter's-street, in which the chapel is situated, and through which is the shortest road into the centre of the city. We have said that this street was anciently called Fleshmonger-street, from the shambles which were there situated; and we are led to believe that it retained this name until the time of the great plague in 1667: soon after which a worthy and religious man, Roger Corham, esq. having built a house on the site of the ancient church of St. Peter de Marcello, in the centre of the street, affixed a stone in the front of it, with the following inscription, which is still visible there:—THIS IS ST. PETER'S-STREET. The same circumstance has occasioned the house itself, ever since, to be called ST. PETER'S HOUSE. From the time of this house being erected, except during a few stormy intervals, there has always been a Catholic chapel, either in the house itself, or in a detached building situated in the garden behind it.



1) Grade Level of the Harbour



(Wentle Street of St. PETERS CHURCH, London.)



NICHOLAS BOYD'S ADDRESS TO THE
 YOUNG PEOPLE OF THE

Adiantum var. *virgatum* L.

Considerable sums had been expended in altering this building, in order to render it more commodious for the purposes of a chapel, particularly in the years 1759 and 1784; nevertheless it was still so inconvenient, and at the same time so insecure, that it became necessary in 1792 to take it down to the foundation, and rebuild it. This measure being resolved upon, instead of following the modern style of building churches and chapels, which are in general square chambers, with small sashed windows and fashionable decorations, hardly to be distinguished, when the altars and benches are removed, from common assembly rooms; it was concluded upon to imitate the models in this kind which have been left us by our religious ancestors, who applied themselves with such ardour and unrivalled success to the cultivation and perfection of ecclesiastical architecture. If the present chapel of St. Peter really has the effect of producing a certain degree of those pleasing and awful sensations, which many persons say they feel in entering into it; the merit is entirely due to the inventors of the Gothic style of building, and of its corresponding decorations in the middle ages, which have been as closely followed in the present oratory, as the limited finances of the persons concerned in it would permit. The general idea of the fabric having been formed upon the spot, was afterwards reduced into order by an artist in London, who is, beyond all dispute, the most conversant in this style of architecture of any man in the kingdom. (1) It would be unjust, however, to mention the name of that architect, without declaring that the many defects, which an adept in the art will discern in the present work, have all been occasioned by a departure from his drawings. This has sometimes happened through the inattention of workmen, but more frequently from motives of œconomy.

(1) This must be admitted by those who have seen Mr. Carter's drawings of various cathedrals, and his works in general. Amongst these it is proper to notice his various plans, sections, and elevations of the cathedrals of Exeter, Bath, Durham, and St. Stephen's chapel, now the House of Commons, which have been so superbly engraved for the Society of Antiquaries; likewise his *Specimens of Ancient Architecture*, published on his own account.

The object first claiming our attention is the Saxon portal, which stands at the entrance of the walk conducting to the chapel. This is an exceedingly good specimen of the Saxon style; the mouldings, undercut and pillars, with their capitals and bases, being exceedingly bold, and both well designed and well wrought, without either those fanciful or clumsy ornaments, which sometimes encumber Saxon columns and arches. Its chief merit however is, that it is a genuine antique; having been removed hither by piecemeal, from the church of St. Magdalen's hospital, upon the hill, where it formed the western doorway, when that venerable fabric was devoted to destruction, and its materials exposed to sale. We have already stated (1) the strong grounds there are for ascribing the foundation of that hospital to bishop Todyve, in the 12th century; as a reparation of the scandal which he had given by joining in the persecution of St. Thomas Becket, with which period its architecture, as we have remarked, admirably agrees. (2) In conformity with this idea, the following inscription is cut upon a stone over the centre of the arch, alluding to the date of its first erection on Magdalen-hill, and to that of its second position in the place which it now occupies:—

D. O. M.

ÆDIFICAT:

A. D.

MCLXXIV.

REÆDIFICAT:

MDCCXCII. (3)

Amongst the few records which subsist of the charitable institution above-mentioned; we have omitted to notice one relating to a transaction which took place when the illustrious Waynflete was its master, and which seems to prove that there existed some sort of relation between the hospital and the church of St. Peter de Macello, now St. Peter's-house. The said master

(1) See p. 214, &c.

(2) Ibid.

(3) *To the Gracious and Supreme Deity.*

Built in the year of Christ 1174.

Rebuilt 1792.

N. B. There being a necessity on such an occasion of mentioning some one year, we have fixed upon that put down above, as the most probable date of the said work.

claiming a certain pension in favour of the hospital from one Alice, the widow of Peter Caperygh; the dispute concerning it was adjusted at this church of St. Peter. (1) Whether this relation between the church and the hospital did or not exist; yet certain it is, that the spot, on which St. Mary Magdalen's-hospital recovered its just rights, at the beginning of the 15th century, preserves, at the beginning of the 19th, the only part of the hospital which is now existing.

Having passed through the portal, we see fixed in the wall, on our right hand, certain capitals and bosses of groins, collected from the ruins of Hyde-abbey, representing foliage and different animals, which are curious for their execution and grotesque designs; also a bust from the fortifications of the ancient castle. Underneath these is now placed the Druidical stone, which is particularly described in our former volume, (2) and of which a small engraving is exhibited in this. (3) In vindication of the antiquity and use assigned to the present antique, it may be proper to state, in a few words, the following particulars:—This stone, which is nearly of the weight of two tons, and others much larger than it, which lie in different parts of the city and its neighbourhood, particularly in the river at Twyford, must have been brought hither from a distance of between 20 and 30 miles, (for there are none found in the earth nearer to the city) for some very important purpose. They are equally unfit for carving and for building, and they could answer no civil nor religious purpose, that we can discover, to the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, or the Normans. On the other hand, we know that such huge unwrought stones, mystically arranged, formed the temples and the altars of the British Druids; (4) and we may be assured that our *Caer Gwent*, being one of the chief cities, both amongst the Celtic and the Belgic Britons, was not destitute of such essential parts of their religion. We have not indeed such good grounds for deciding to

(1) MS. Hospit. penes Wavel, the late master.

(2) Vol. i, p. 10, note.

(3) In the title page.

(4) On this subject consult the learned Borlase's *History of Cornwall*.

which of the particular Druidical rites this stone was subservient, as we have for believing that it belonged to them in general. It might have been a Cromlech, or altar-stone; an augurial Logan, or rocking stone; or, finally, a sanctifying Tolmen: though we are inclined to believe it to have been of the first-mentioned kind, (1) and that the hole into which the cavities on the surface discharge themselves, was intended to retain a certain quantity of human blood, which issued from the unhappy victim; this blood being used for different purposes of religion and augury. The sight of this bloody monument of Pagan superstition, near the peaceful and consoling oratory of the true God, serves, by the contrast, to recommend and endear the latter to the thoughtful Christian.

Proceeding a few steps along the gravel walk, we have the whole extent of the chapel in view, being a light Gothic building, coated with stucco, resembling free stone; with mullioned windows, shelving buttresses, a parapet with open quatrefoils and crocketed pinnacles, terminating in gilt crosses. The corbels of the canopies, over the several windows, consist of the bust of kings, queens, and bishops, with their respective emblems; and the frieze is distinctively charged with those of St. Peter, in whose name the chapel is dedicated; namely, nets, fishes, a crook, sheep, a sword with a human ear upon it, a cock, chains, a scourge, an inverted cross; as also a chalice, patin, mitre, and the initials of his name. The total length of the chapel, on the outside, is 75 feet; its height, to the top of the cornice, 24 feet, and to the summit of the pinnacles, 35 feet. The windows are twelve feet high and four feet six inches broad.

We first advance to the porch, which, like the body of the chapel, is in the Gothic style, being flanked with buttresses and ornamented with pinnacles, quatrefoils, &c. the whole being surmounted with a niche, containing a small statue of St. Peter, holding his keys. Below this are placed his Majesty's arms, with the following inscription:—

(1) We are induced to adopt this opinion from the appearance of the surface; though otherwise we must own that this stone very much resembles, in its general shape, a Tolmen in Constantine parish, in Cornwall, of which Borlase has given us a plate, n. XIII. See his *Antiquities of that County*.

ANNO xxxiii GEORGII, M. B. F. et H. REGIS, &c. FÆLICIS, CASTI, INTEGRITATIS VINDICIS, PATRIS PATRIÆ. (1)

In the three compartments of the parapet is the following triple injunction of the aforesaid apostle:—*Fear God. Honour the King. Love your Brethren.* 1 Peter, c. ii. We find the inside of the porch vaulted with highly pitched arches, the butments of which rest on the capitals of four slender pillars. On the boss, in the centre of the groin, is painted, in light and shade, the mystical ladder of Jacob, with the following inscription round it:—*This is no other than the House of God, and the Gate of Heaven.* Genes. c. xxviii. Within the porch, on the right hand wall, we find the marble tablet with the inscription, originally erected by the emigrant French clergy, in their chapel at the King's-house, which we have inserted above. (2) Upon this house being given up to the military, the most noble marquis of Buckingham, who had generously defrayed the expence of the tablet, committed the preservation of it to the incumbent of St. Peter's chapel, who erected it where it is seen at present. Three other inscriptions are disposed under the curve of the aforesaid arches, viz. immediately within the porch:—*The place on which thou standest is holy ground.* Exod. c. iii. and round the pointed head of the chapel door:—*Before prayer, prepare thy soul.* Eccles. xxviii. *My eye shall be open, and my ears.... attentive to....him who shall pray in this place.* 2 Chron. c. vii.

Entering into the chapel, the eye will be first caught by the figure of our Divine Saviour in glory, over the altar, with the law-giver Moses, and the chief of the prophets Elias, attending and adoring him; whilst the three chosen apostles, overcome with astonishment, and dazzled with the light that proceeds from him, are prostrate on the ground in prayer. This altar piece, which is ten feet six inches high, and eight feet six inches wide, was painted by Mr. William Cave, sen. of this city, from a copy of Ra-

(1) Erected in the 33d year of the reign of George III, king of Great Britain, and Ireland, &c. Happy, Temperate, the Assertor of Innocence, the Father of his Country.

(2) See p. 178.

phael's Transfiguration; the first picture, in point of merit, extant. (1) The altar-piece is enclosed in a Gothic cinquefoil arch, supported by double pillars and flanked with elegant buttresses, which are surmounted with pinnacles that terminate in pomegranates. The canopy of the arch, springing from the buttresses, tapers up to the crown of the vaulting, where it ends in a lily. In the open space, between the top of the arch and the point of the canopy, immediately over the head of our Saviour in the altar-piece, is a quatrefoil inscribed in a circle, containing a transparent painting upon glass of a Dove; which, by means of light that is let in upon it from behind, produces a surprising and pleasing effect. The whole of the work within the buttresses, taken together, which is sixteen feet in height, and twelve in breadth, rests upon a row of small Gothic arches supported by corbels. The wood work is painted white, the mouldings and other ornaments are gilt.

The tabernacle, as it is now exclusively called, which stands in the centre of the altar, is peculiarly rich and elaborate; being a model of the west end of York Minster, but with such variations as the nature and use of a tabernacle require. The door, which amongst other ornaments is carved with the emblems of Christ's Passion, unavoidably occupies the greatest part of the space between the towers; and the towers themselves, instead of windows, contain canopied niches, in which are placed gilt emblematical statues, those of Faith, Hope, the Love of God, and the Love of our Neighbour. Over the centre of the tabernacle is a well-proportioned cross-flory, which is covered with stones of cut glass. This supports an ivory figure of Christ crucified, exceedingly well wrought. The steps for supporting the candlesticks, on each side of the tabernacle, are carved with two rows of Gothic fascia; and, like the tabernacle, present no colour but white and gold.

The altar itself is a Gothic table, supported by arches in the same style,

(1) This was accordingly the first work of art which the French put into requisition, when they were enabled to give laws to Rome.

being painted white with gilt mouldings. The front pannel, instead of an antependium, exhibits our Saviour taken from the cross, with his blessed mother, St. John, and St. Mary Magdalen; being copied from a celebrated picture of Dominichino, in the possession of lord Arundell. It is painted in chiaro oscuro, to represent carving, which seems to be executed in the native rock. The side pannels are painted in the same manner; one of which exhibits Mount Calvary with the three vacant crosses, the other the garden and sepulchre in which our Lord was buried. Near the altar, on both sides of it, are small tables, called Credences, which are copied from similar tables still existing in certain chantries in the cathedral of this city. The tables themselves are marble, but their pedestals are wood, painted white and gilt. Over the credences, but beneath the corbels, are two emblematical devices, carved and gilt, which are well known to the pious. That on the gospel side represents a heart wounded by a spear, with three nails placed over it. The other, on the epistle side, exhibits a heart transfixing with a sword, which, as well as the former, is surrounded with rays of glory.

There is a door, rich with Gothic carvings, on each side of the altar; the canopies over the arched doorways are supported at each end, by gilt cherubs. The doorway, on the right hand, conducts into the sacristy; that on the left into a passage, communicating with the sacristy on one hand, and the garden on the left, likewise with a flight of stairs, leading up into a private gallery, over the sacristy. In the spandrils of the doorways are four shields, containing the emblems of the four evangelists, with a scroll, inscribed with the beginning of the gospel, according to each of them. The first, on the gospel side, represents a winged man, for St. Matthew, with the words:—*The book of the generation of Jesus Christ*. The second, a lion, for St. Mark, with the text:—*A voice of one crying in the desert*. The third shield, being on the epistle side, represents a bull, with the introduction of St. Luke:—*A certain priest named Zachary*. On the remaining shield is painted an eagle, with the sublime opening of St.

John's gospel :—*In the beginning was the Word.* Over each of these figures is a label, inscribed with the word HOLY, in allusion to chap. iv, v. 8, of the Apocalypse. Over the canopies of the doors are a frieze and cornice, the former being charged with carved and gilt foliage and flowers. Above these is a range of closed Gothic arches, carved and gilt; in the centre of which are relieved canopies, under which are seen the figure of St. Peter, with his keys and inverted cross on one side, and that of St. Paul, with his sword and book on the other, painted in light and shade, to imitate sculpture. The next row higher up consists of inverted Gothic arches, with gilt mouldings; being a species of antique rail-work, which is open, for the benefit of persons who attend the divine service from the private gallery. A grey silk curtain hangs behind the railing, and conceals such persons from the sight of the congregation.

Above this railing, on both sides, is a closed embattlement, carved and gilt, containing alternate niches and quatrefoils. In each of the former, is an angel in the act of adoration towards the altar; and in each of the latter, some emblem of the blessed sacrament, as the tree of paradise, the pascal lamb, the ark of the covenant, the loaves of proposition, &c. In the centre, however, of this embattlement, on each side, rises a niche of a much larger size, containing the figure of a bishop, painted in light and shade, like those of the apostles underneath. That over St. Peter is intended for St. Swithun, the patron saint of the city and the joint patron of the chapel; whilst the other represents St. Birinus, the apostle of this country of the West Saxons, and another patron of the present chapel. We omitted to mention, that on a fascia immediately below the open rail-work, is painted, in small compartments, the most remarkable incidents in the histories of these two holy personages, once so famous in Winchester. To begin with the latter, we see St. Birinus on his knees before pope Honorius, who invests him with his commission of preaching the gospel to the idolatrous West Saxons. His mitre is placed near him, and a clerk holds his pastoral crosier; whilst, in the back ground, is seen a distant view of St. Peter's

church at Rome. In the second compartment, we behold this saint walking on the waves, with his crosier in his left hand, and holding his right hand up to his breast, in order to protect the sacred treasure, for the recovering of which he was enabled to perform this astonishing miracle; whilst the ship, from which he descended, is riding at a small distance. We have given, in a former part of the present work, a more particular account of this miracle, which was the first step towards the conversion of our Pagan ancestors; with an account of the authority on which it rests. (1) The third scene is the baptism of Kinegils, the first Christian king of the West Saxons, by St. Birinus; Oswald, the holy and powerful monarch of the Northumbrians, holding Kinegils by the hand, in quality of god-father. Agreeably to the received opinion, this ceremony is represented as if performed at the present font in our cathedral; whilst certain attendant clergy are seen in the back ground enregistering this important event.

The corresponding fascia, on the gospel side, exhibits certain circumstances in the history of St. Swithun. In the first compartment, king Ethelwolph, who had been himself a disciple of this saint, is delivering his favorite son, young Alfred, into his care at his house of Wolvesey, to be instructed and formed by him. In the back ground is represented the city bridge, built by our saint, and the scene of one of his miracles. The second division shews the solemn translation of St. Swithun's body, from his grave in the cathedral church-yard, where it had lain above a century, into the church; which event, we are assured by eye-witnesses of the highest credit, was followed by celestial prodigies. In the back ground is seen the cathedral church. The last compartment represents the celebrated event of queen Emma's deliverance from the fiery ordeal, which is said to have taken place in the cathedral of this city, and to have been obtained by the prayers of St. Swithun, in honour of whom the cathedral

(1) Vol. I, p. 89, 90.

dedicated. (1) The accused princess, blindfold and barefooted, is conducted between two bishops over nine heated plough-shares; whilst the surrounding multitude, and our prelate Alwin in particular, who was involved in the false accusation, are seen on their knees, praying devoutly for her deliverance from the fiery trial. This fascia continuing on quite to the altar-piece, there is a small vacant space on each side, in which are exhibited two other scenes, that are celebrated in the history of this city. In one of them, we see the great Alfred at his prayers, with the burning taper before him, divided into twenty-four equal parts, by means of which he used to measure the stated times of his devotions and other exercises; (2) at a period when clocks were not invented. In the other, king Canute is placing his own crown on the crucifix of the altar, in our cathedral; which scene took place after the memorable transaction at Southampton, of his commanding the waves not to approach his feet. (3)

The remaining upper part of the altar end is painted with Gothic ornaments, which terminate immediately under the arch of the vaulted ceiling in a fascia, on which are inscribed, in ornamental English letters, but in a faint shade, so as to blend with the embellishments in general, (4) the following texts of scripture:—

On one side, **TRULY THE LORD IS HERE!...HOW AWFUL IS THIS PLACE!** Gen. c. xxviii. On the other side, **HOLINESS, O LORD! BECOMETH THY HOUSE FOR EVER AND EVER.** Ps. xcii.

The several implements and ornaments within the sanctuary, as the pulpit, desk, chairs, stools, &c. likewise the rails, which inclose it, are all in the same style, and copied from originals of ancient date. The priest's chair is imitated from that in which the king is crowned at Westminster abbey; and the idea of the two gorgeous lamp pedestals, on each side of

(1) Rudb. Hist. Maj. l. iv, c. i. Annales Wint. 1043.

(2) Hist. Maj. Wint. l. iii, c. vi.

(3) Ibid. l. iv, c. i.

(4) This precaution is used in all the other numerous inscriptions throughout the chapel.

the sanctuary, is borrowed from the city cross, and other ancient erections of the same kind.

Turning ourselves round, we now take a general view of the body of the chapel. It is lighted by six large Gothic windows, the dimensions of which have been already given, each one containing three lights. They have canopies in the inside, as well as on the outside; the former of which rest upon cherubs for brackets, and taper up to the height of three feet above the crown of the arch. Directly opposite to the windows are pictures painted on canvass in light and shade, of the same size and form as the windows, and with similar canopies; and over both the pictures and the windows are shields; each one of which exhibits the bust and emblem of one of the twelve apostles. Between the windows and pictures rise up tall columns, with plain capitals and bases. These are painted of a straw colour, whilst the body of the chapel is of French grey. From each of the capitals spring five ribs; these support the ceiling, which is regularly vaulted; and the bosses at the intersections of the ribs, all along the centre of the ceiling, are painted and gilt with various sacred emblems. Near the upper end of the chapel hangs a lamp, richly sculptured, gilt and painted, with a number of angels supporting the several emblems of our Saviour's passion. At the lower end of it is a gallery, supported by light pointed arches and slender columns, and faced with Gothic railing of a different form from either of the railings mentioned above.

To descend now to a more particular description of the objects in the body of the chapel; that which will first strike our sight is the glass in the windows, the mullions of which we have already surveyed from the outside. This glass is ground; by which means it admits the light, but prevents any object from being seen through it. The windows are richly ornamented with figures, standing upon pedestals under gorgeous canopies, of the most renowned saints or kings, who heretofore flourished in Winchester, with their names and the dates of their respective deaths, in the following order:—

In the first window, S. BIRINUS, APOST. OF W. SAX. A.D. 652. V. KINEGILS, 1ST X^{TN} K. OF W. SAX. DIED A. D. 644. S. HEDDA, 1ST B^P OF WIN. A.D. 705.—In the second window, S. SWITHUN, B. PAT^N OF WIN. A.D. 865. K. EGBERT, 1ST MON^{CH} OF ENG. A.D. 837. V. ALFRED THE GREAT, A.D. 900.—In the third window, S. GRIMBALD, AB. FOUNDER, A.D. 904. S. ALSWIDA, Q. FOUNDESS, DIED A.D. 904. S. BRINSTAN, B. FOUNDER, A.D. 934.—In the fourth window, S. ETHELWOLD, BISHOP, A.D. 984. S. EDBURGA, ABBESS, DIED A.D. 960. S. ELPEGE, BISHOP, A.D. 946.—In the fifth window, S. ELPEGE, MARTYR, A.D. 1012. K. CANUTE THE GREAT, DIED A.D. 1035. V. MAUD THE GOOD Q. A.D. 1118. The remaining windows being cut off by the gallery, have other devices, which can only be seen from that situation.

Opposite the windows are pictures, painted in chiaro oscuro. The subjects of these are selected for instruction; and at the bottom of them are Gothic work, and pannels containing passages of scripture, illustrative of these subjects; being painted in the English letter, as well as language, but in a faint shade. In certain triangular compartments, within the canopies, on both sides of the chapel, are devices or initials relating to the pictures. The first of these, which stands within the sanctuary, is the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin, being a copy from the altar-piece of the College Chapel, in this city, by Le Moine. This picture once answered the same purpose in a church on the continent. There is, however, this difference between the original and the copy, that the back ground here represents part of the present chapel. The text on the pannel beneath is, *Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou amongst women.* St. Luke, c. 1, v. 28. The second piece is the Last Supper, copied from a design of Hans Holbein; but the back ground of it presents Gothic scenery, in which are introduced certain emblems of the Blessed Eucharist, with suitable inscriptions, viz. *The sacrifice of Abraham, Take thy only begotten son Isaacand thou shalt offer him for a holocaust.* Gen. c. XXII, v. 2. the ark

of the covenant, *They shall make me a sanctuary, and I will dwell in the midst of them.* Exod. c. xxv, v. 8. The Israelites gathering manna, *This is the bread which the Lord hath given you.* The general text of the picture, on the pannel beneath, is, *Take ye, and eat, this is my body.* St. Mat. c. xxvi, v. 26. The third picture is after Poussin, and exhibits our Lord giving the keys to St. Peter. In the back ground is St. Peter's church at Rome, and the present little chapel of St. Peter. The text below contains the warrant for this subject: *Thou art Peter, (1) and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, and to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of Heaven.* St. Mat. c. xvi, v. 18. The fourth painting represents the death of Ananias, from one of Raphael's cartoons. The scene, however, is placed at the altar of the present chapel. The inscription is, *Ananias, why hath Satan tempted thy heart, that thou shouldst lie to the holy Ghost?....Thou hast not lied to men, but to God.* Acts, c. v, v. 24. The fifth picture, which stands under the gallery, is that of our Saviour casting the buyers and sellers out of the temple; the back ground being the lower end of this chapel. The whole of this is designed as well as executed by Mr. Cave. The text on the pannel is, *It is written that my house shall be called the house of prayer.* St. Mat. c. xxi, v. 13. The sixth compartment, containing a large back door, facing the principal door of the chapel, is painted in Gothic architecture, but has no picture.

In the front of the gallery, beneath the Gothic railing, are shields, on which are emblazoned the arms or initials, with their respective mottos, of the following benefactors or friends to St. Peter's chapel:—The Right Hon. lord Arundell, Edward Sheldon Constable, esq. Thomas Stonor, esq. Thomas Weld, esq. James Wheble, esq. William Meader, merchant, and William Cave, painter. The spandrils of the arches, under the gallery, afford spaces for shields, containing a great number of instructive religious devices and inscriptions, of which we shall here give a list.

(1) Derived from the word *Πετρα*, signifying a rock.

I. A very curious ancient device, explaining the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, (1) with the inscription, *Without faith it is impossible to please God.* Heb. c. ii, v. 2.—II. A fountain with five spouts, being an emblem of the wounds of Christ, *Ye shall draw water from the fountains of your Saviour.* Isai. c. xii, v. 3.—III. An anchor, the sign of hope, *Thou savest them who hope in thee.* Ps. xvi.—IV. A flaming heart, the emblem of charity, *The greatest of these is charity.* 1 Cor. c. xv, v. 5.—V. The tree of knowledge, with the serpent twisted round it, presenting an apple, and a death's head lying at the bottom of it, *The wages of sin are death.* Rom. c. vi, v. 23.—VI. A ship, with a cross at the mast head, and the word CATHOLIC inscribed on the ensign at the stern, *He taught from the ship that belonged to Simon.* St. Luke, c. v, v. 3.—VII. A candlestick with seven branches, emblematic of the seven sacraments, *Behold a lamp with seven lights.* Zach. iv, v. 2.—VIII. A sheep-pen, *There shall be one sheep-fold and one shepherd.* St. John, c. x, v. 9.—IX. A boy blowing bubbles, together with jewels, crowns, and an extinguished candle, *Vanity of vanities, and all is vanity.* Eccles. c. i.—X. A serpent, encircling an hour glass, with a sword on one side, and a palm branch on the other, *These shall go to everlasting pains, but the just to life eternal.* St. Mat. c. 25, v. 11.—XI. Death with his scythe, *Dust thou art, and into dust thou shalt return.* Gen. c. 3, v. 19.—XII. An angel sounding a trumpet, *The trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall arise.* 1 Cor. xv.

Besides these devices and inscriptions in front of the arches, there are others on the back part of them, which are visible to persons at the lower end of the chapel, whose faces are turned to the altar. Inscription in the first scroll, *He who eateth this bread or drinketh the cup of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of the body and the blood of our Lord.* 1 Cor. c. ii.—Scroll II. *Come eat my bread and drink my wine, which I have prepared*

(1) Amongst other places, this is seen on the curious monument of John Campden, in the church of St. Cross, and is copied and explained in Carter's Specimens of Ancient Sculpture, &c.

for you. Prov. c. ix. Figure on the corresponding shield, a host and chalice, with wheat and grapes.—Scroll III. *Behold, O Lord, and look upon the face of thy Christ.* Ps. LXXXIII.—Scroll IV. *There hath stood one in the midst of you, whom you have not known.* St. John, c. iv.—Scroll V. *My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.* St. John, c. vi. Corresponding emblem, a lamb lying upon an ancient altar.—Scroll VI. *In every place there shall be sacrifice and a pure oblation.* Malac. c. i.—Scroll VII. *This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.* Mal. c. i.—Scroll VIII. *The prayer of him that humbleth himself shall pierce the clouds.* Eccl. c. xxv.—Scroll IX. *Let my prayer be directed as incense in thy sight.* Ps. cxl. Corresponding device, an angel ministering at the altar of incense.—Scroll X. *Let us go with confidence to the throne of mercy, that we may find grace.* Heb.—Scroll XI. *I have chosen to be the least in thy house, rather than to dwell in the tabernacles of sinners.* Ps. LXXXIII.—Scroll XII. *How lovely are thy tabernacles, O God of Hosts.* Ps. LXXXIII. Corresponding emblem, a Christian altar:

At the extremity of the arcades, against the bottom wall, on the epistle side, is a picture, in light and shade, of one of the patron saint's miracles, namely, St. Peter raising Tabitha to life, with the following words on the pannel, amidst the Gothic work below: *Tabitha arise.* Acts, c. ix, v. 40.—The center compartment is vacant, to receive recommendations of the deceased; it has, however, the following text of scripture: *It is a holy and salutary thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins.* 2 Macab. c. xii, v. 46.—On the upper end of this compartment, which is to be seen over the gallery stairs, is painted a figure of death flying, and with his scythe mowing the surface of the world.—At the end of the arcade, on the gospel side, is the martyrdom of the patron saint, on an inverted cross, with the following prophecy of our Saviour to him: *When thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee.* This he said, signifying by what death he should glorify God. St. John, c. xxi, v. 18, 19.

There is a niche in the wall, close to the principal entry into the chapel, in which stands the holy water vat, (1) with the following inscription on a twisted label over it: *Wash me yet more from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin.* Ps. l. On each side of this are small chests to receive money, viz. one for the relief of the poor, with this label, *He that hath mercy on the poor, lendeth to the lord, and he will repay him.* Prov. c: cix. The other for the repair of the chapel, with this text, *O Lord, I have loved the beauty of thy house, and the place where thy glory dwelleth.* Ps. xxv.

The pointed window over the door, which consists of thirty pieces of glass, has so many different subjects painted on it, forming one general design, viz. the mutual relation of the old and the new law: The highest compartment contains the usual emblem of the Blessed Trinity, inscribed in a circle of rays. The next underneath represents the Divine Messiah at full length, resting on a cross, and in the attitude of preaching. In the compartments round these are angels and cherubims in adoration. On a large pane beneath are the tables of the law, surrounded with dark clouds and rays of lightning; with other objects of terror, viz. a scourge, a sword, and a death's head. On the corresponding pane, of the opposite side, is the book of the gospel, open at this passage: *In the beginning was the word, &c.* with the mystical dove shedding his rays from above, and a crown, an olive, and a palm branch. Near these are depicted the sacrifices of the old and of the new law; viz. a lamb burning on an ancient altar on one hand, and a chalice and host upon a Christian altar, on the other; also the most illustrious personages belonging to the two covenants, there Moses, here the Blessed Virgin. The following ancient prophets are next seen in a row: David, with an air of inspiration, writing his psalms, Solomon praying in the temple, Jonas escaping from the whale, and Elias fed by ravens. Opposite to these are, St. John the Baptist, St. Joseph, St. Peter in chains, and St. Paul preaching at Athens. The last series consists of the four

(1) The holy water vat or kettle, so called in the inventories of ancient cathedrals.

greater prophets, Isaias, with the angel purifying his lips in the temple, Jeremy weeping amongst ruins, (1) Ezechiel contemplating the mystical wheel, and Daniel in the lions' den. Corresponding with these, are the four evangelists, with their characteristical emblems. On the side of the old law, is an hour glass, the mark of time; on that of the new, a serpent in a circle, the emblem of eternity. The whole painting of this window is the work of Mr. James Cave, of this city.

We now ascend into the gallery, where we find a large organ, which once belonged to Handel. At present it is enclosed in a case of Gothic work. Over this, on a label winding under the arch of the ceiling, are the two following texts of scripture: *I will sing praise to thee in the sight of thy angels: I will confess thy name in thy holy temple.* Ps. cxxxviii. *Praise the Lord with timbrel and the choir, praise him with strings and organs.* Ps. cxlix. The quatrefoil centre window, at the back of the gallery, consists of stained glass, of Mr. Eggington's manufactory, and contains the usual emblem of the Blessed Trinity. The other two end windows, consisting each of two lights, are Gothic, but wrought and painted in a different style from those in the body of the chapel.

From the gallery we have an advantageous view of the luminous dove over the altar; likewise of a considerable number of the painted and gilt bosses, which occur wherever the ribs of the groining intersect each other. Those at the extremities, close to the walls on each side, contain chiefly the different implements of the sacred Passion; whilst those in the centre present a succession of the principal emblems of Christ himself, with suitable inscriptions in gilt Roman letters. The first of these, being that nearest to the altar, shews a pelican drawing blood from its own breast, with this inscription: O SACRUM CONVIVIVM. (2) The second ex-

(1) The ruins, amongst which the prophet sits, are copied from the church of St. Mary Magdalen on the Hill, as it appeared about seven years ago; the doorway of which forms the portico in St. Peter's-street, leading to the chapel. See *Vetust. Monum.* vol. III.

(2) *O Sacred Banquet.* Ch. Off.

hibits a lamb, with the text: *ECCE AGNUS DEI.* (1) The next is the brazen serpent: *QUI ASPICIT VIVET.* (2) The fourth is a lion: *VICIT LEO.* (3) The fifth device is one very common on the tombs of the martyrs and other Christians, who were buried in the catacombs during the three first centuries; viz. a fish, with the Greek initials ΙΧΘΥΣ. (4) The last consists of the famous labarum of Constantine, being the figure of a cross, as it appeared to him in the air, previously to his victory over the Pagan tyrant Maxentius, with the monogram of the name of Christ, and the Greek inscription around it, ΕΝ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ. (5) Descending from the gallery, on a Gothic pannel in the headway, the following text of scripture meets our eye: *Enter ye in at the narrow gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there are who go in thereat. How narrow is the gate, and how strait the way that leadeth to life, and few there are that find it!* St. Mat. c. vii, v. 13, 14.

In the sacristy belonging to this chapel is kept an old processional cross, now newly painted, which before the Reformation belonged to the neighbouring parish church of Barton Stacy; likewise an ancient cope, &c. The arched window over the door, leading into the garden, is painted with wheat sheaves, vines, a host, and a chalice. The following texts occur on labels in the two lights of which it consists: *I have chosen this place to myself for a house of sacrifice.* 2 Chron. c. vii. *There shall be sacrifice and a pure oblation.* Malach. c. i. Close to the door hangs a copy of the certificate of the consecration of this chapel and altar; of which the fol-

(1) *Behold the lamb of God.* St. John, c. i.

(2) *He who looks thereon shall live.* Numb. c. xxi.

(3) *The lion hath conquered.* Apoc. c.

(4) The initials of the following five Greek words, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ, which mean *Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour*, being put together make the word ΙΧΘΥΣ, which means a *fish*. This device, as we have stated, having been in frequent use before the time of Arius, alone suffices to condemn his impious denial of the divinity of Christ.

(5) *In this conquer.* Eusebius, in his *Life of Constantine*, declares that he heard this emperor attest, upon oath, the truth of this miraculous apparition.

lowing is an extract:—"A. D. 1792, die 5 Decembris. Ego Joannes episcopus Centuriensis consecravi ecclesiam et altare hoc, in honorem B. Mariæ Virginis et S. S. Petri apostoli, et Birini et Swithuni confessorum pontificum et reliquias S. S. martyrum Pii et Constantii et S. S. virginum et martyrum Severæ et Victoriæ in eo inclusi," &c. (1)

(1) A. D. 1792, Dec. 5, I John, bishop of Centuriæ, consecrated this chapel and this altar, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Peter the apostle, and St. Birinus and St. Swithun, confessors and bishops; and I enclosed in the altars the relics of S. S. Pius and Constantius, martyrs, and of S. S. Severa and Victoria, virgins and martyrs, &c.

POSTSCRIPT,

*Containing a Review of the Reviews and other Publications, respecting
THE HISTORY OF WINCHESTER.*

IT is an evil of which I have heretofore complained, that the writers who have the best opportunities, and, more or less, the requisite talents, for correcting public errors and prejudices, too often lend their aid to confirm them. (1) The greater part of poets, of orators, and even of historians, when they sit down to write, consider not so much what is true, as what is likely to be well received by the public; and are much more anxious to secure their own interest and reputation, than to enlighten their readers. This observation applies to Catholic writers, as well as to those of other communions. The former know, that to get rid of the prejudice which attaches to them, in consequence of their religion, and to gain the character of being liberal, candid, sensible, and learned, they have little more to do than to chime with the common invectives against the alleged bigotry, blindness, and superstition of their ancestors, and to represent the heads of their own church, from Pius I. down to Pius VII. as constantly plotting against the peace and prosperity of the Christian world. Unfortunately, they too often sacrifice the conviction of their minds to such selfish considerations, and publish what they acknowledge, in their serious moments, to be indefensible.

Whatever may be the faults or defects of the present Author, he hopes he has been, and ever shall be, free from this. If he himself has in any instance been deceived, he has never knowingly deceived his readers. In the present work, he has laid before them the genuine result of his laborious and patient researches into the original documents, from which the History and Antiquities of Winchester could alone be collected; together with his unvarnished sentiments upon religion, ancient manners, the liberal arts, and

(1) Letters to a Preb. 3d ed. sub. fin.

various other subjects; and now he is going to settle his accounts on these subjects with his numerous reviewers and critics, in the face of the public. To those charges which he is unable to refute, he will candidly plead guilty, and adopt the emendations pointed out to him. On the other hand, in justice to his readers, as well as to himself, he will state some part of what has been advanced by these public censors, in his favour.

This pertinacity, however, of the Author, in adhering to what appears to him the truth, and in yielding nothing to public prejudice, has not been the only drawback on the degree of favour he might otherwise have expected from reviewers, critics, and the public at large. For, in writing the history of a particular city, he has had to contend with a host of local opposition. He has had to prove, that its inhabitants were previously the dupes of fable and absurdity; that their former historians, celebrated as they were for their erudition, and intimately connected with those who directed the public opinion, and every thing else at Winchester, had combined to deceive them; and that even their public monuments, which were richly emblazoned, and ostentatiously displayed, formed the most faulty records extant in the world. It is nevertheless evident, that the Author has completely succeeded in this undertaking, as the whole care of his opponents, since the publication of his work, has been to secure a retreat for themselves and their friends. It is natural to suppose, that this very success of the History must have encreased the number, and sharpened the enmity, of its opponents; which circumstance alone will account for many of the angry strictures that have been published against it. Yet not one of these shall knowingly be passed over; at the same time I must unavoidably consult brevity as much as possible.

The first writer, in point of time, as well as of dignity, who publicly animadverted on the HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF WINCHESTER, was the REV. DR. STURGES, Prebendary of the Cathedral and Chancellor of the Diocese of Winchester. A few months after the publication of my second volume, in the year 1799, appeared that gentleman's work, called RE-

REFLECTIONS ON POPERY, OCCASIONED BY THE REV. J. MILNER'S HISTORY OF WINCHESTER. A very small proportion of it, however, relates to the History itself; the greater part being taken up with the threadbare objections of controvertists on *Superstition*, *Intolerance*, the *Supremacy*, &c. Those who are desirous of looking into the progress and issue of that dispute, which from the press and the public, found its way into both Houses of Parliament, (1) may consult the second sediton of the above-mentioned Reflections, (2) and the second, third, or fourth edition of THE LETTERS TO A PREBENDARY, (3) in answer to it. In the little which the learned Doctor has said concerning the present work, as a History, he has, with a liberality which is natural to him, except when Popery is his subject, found a great deal more matter for commendation than for censure. He praises the Author's knowledge of ancient books, architecture, manners; and likewise his style: and he even "ranks the History amongst those of the kind which are most esteemed." (4) His criticisms, properly so termed, are chiefly to be found in his postscript. As I have already had an opportunity of reviewing these at a considerable length, (5) I shall do nothing more at present, than contract my former remarks into as narrow a compass as possible.

To begin: Dr. S. objects to the discovery of Rocher du Guerin and Bonnaud, so much applauded by the literati of France, and so valuable to the cause of revelation, that the stories collected by Herodotus from the priests of Egypt concerning the early history of that country, are, in fact, the metamorphosed history of Jacob and the patriarchs, as it occurs in the book of Genesis. (6) And yet, as it is certain, that the Hebrew shepherds did go down into Egypt, and that their posterity resided there some hun-

(1) See Mr. Sheridan's speech in the debates of the House of Commons, June 23, 1800; and the debates in the House of Lords, July 10, in the same year.

(2) Winchester, Robbins; London, Cadell and Davies.

(3) Winchester, Robbins; London, Keating and Co. Duke-street, Grosvenor-square; Booker, Bond-street; Faulder, &c.

(4) P. 15, 2d edit.

(5) Appendix to 1st edit. of Letters to a Preb.

(6) Hist. vol. 1, p. 2. Reflect. 2d edit. p. 278.

dreds of years, what is so natural as that some traces of the Hebrew people should be discovered in the history of Egypt? The chief argument, however, in favour of this discovery is, that several passages in the second book of Herodotus, concerning the early history of Egypt, when taken by themselves are unintelligible and perfect nonsense; whereas they are clearly comprehended by referring them to the text of Genesis.

In the next place, Dr. S. seems to doubt, whether the huge unformed stones, which are found lying in and about Winchester, are, as I have supposed them to be, real remains of the Druidical worship. (1) And yet, as on one hand, he has been unable to discover any similar stones in *their natural state*, within 20 or 30 miles of that city, (the consequence of which is, that they must have been conveyed thither,) and as, on the other, we know that such stones were not in use amongst the *Normans*, *Saxons*, or *Romans*, though they were in use amongst the *Britons*, namely, for their religious worship; what is so natural, as to suppose that they are the remains of the Druidical worship formerly practised in this our ancient *British* city? As to this gentleman's proposal of referring the matter to naturalists; this, as I have before said, (2) would be to ask them, "whether they think it more likely that stones, weighing several tons, were shot from Bagshot-heath or Stokes'-bay to Winchester by a volcano, or rolled thither by an earthquake?"

It was not to be expected that Dr. S. would lose the opportunity of a sarcasm on St. Ursula and her companions; who are stated to have died in defence of their faith and chastity. (3) But, though the number of these Christian heroines has never been defined, either by the Roman Martyrology or by me; yet, taking it, as it is set down by many historians, at 11,000; I must, once more, beg leave to ask the following questions of the learned: "Is it not incontestable from the accounts of Gildas, Nennius, Bede, &c. that about the time assigned for the martyrdom of these virgins, namely, about the year of Christ 390, the tyrant Maximus stripped our island of

(1) Hist. vol. 1, p. 9. Reflect. 278. (2) Append. to 1st ed. of Letters to a Preb. p. 279.

(3) Hist. vol. 1, p. 53. Reflect. 279.

almost all its young men, in order to fight his battles on the continent; and that after his defeat, these British youths never returned to their own country, but that they settled on the opposite coast of Armorica, thence called Bretagne, or Little Britanny? Is it unlikely, that these young men, being so settled, should wish to have wives from their own country? Is it improbable that, in the circumstances described, an equal number of young women might be found to meet their countrymen in honourable wedlock? Is it contrary to the laws of nature, that the vessels which conveyed these British ladies, in sailing from the Thames to Brest or St. Maloes, should have been driven, by a westerly wind, into the mouths of the Rhine? Lastly, is it incredible, that these Christian virgins, meeting there with some of those Pagan pirates, who at that period are known to have scoured the North seas and the Channel, should prefer suffering death at their hands, to the violation of their duty to God, and their betrothed husbands?"

To proceed, Dr. Sturges does not believe that the New Forest was laid waste by the Conqueror in the manner related by our ancient historians; nor will he agree with them in admitting, that the untimely death of two of William's sons, and of one of his grandsons, in this Forest, were instances of the divine wrath against his cruelty and sacrileges, in making these devastations. (1) On the latter point, he is evidently at liberty to think as he pleases; but certainly he has no sufficient ground to contradict contemporary writers, as to the actual devastations in *Ytene*, or the New Forest.

Dr. S. allows that "Collier was an able man," and he does not impeach his veracity in the smallest instance. Yet he is dissatisfied at my frequently referring to him, because, forsooth, "he was a *Nonjuror*!" (2)

My critic next finds just fault with my draughtsman, for omitting the coping of the Tower, in his otherwise accurate and elegant representation of the Cathedral; and he finds equally just fault with me for calling Edward IV. the *son*, instead of the *grandson* of that earl of Cambridge who was beheaded at Southampton. (3) Both these faults are corrected in the

(1) Hist. vol. i, p. 190, 196. Ref. 279, 280.

(2) Hist. vol. i, p. 296. Ref. 281.

(3) Hist. vol. i, p. 307, 311. Ref. 281.

present edition. But whether this prince, when he first took up arms against the good Henry VI. or Henry himself, was to be called an *usurper*, is a question which cost England rivers of her best blood, in the wars between the Red and the White Roses, without ever being decided; and for the decision of which, a great deal more is required to be proved, than has been advanced by Dr. S.

With respect to the unpublished MS. of the late Thomas Warton; in case it states that "Philip and Mary were married at the *High Altar* of the Cathedral," and not in the *Lady Chapel*, as I have said, (1) I shall only observe, that it expressly contradicts what this learned, but careless writer, has asserted *in print*; (2) as likewise the tradition of the place. Should it, however, appear that he has any authority for the particular in question, I shall readily bow to it. Till this is produced, I must adhere to my former account.

Proceeding to my second volume, Dr. S. agrees with me in almost all his remarks upon its contents. He grants, that the late Poet Laureat's opinion, which ascribes to Saxon architects the eastern part of the Cathedral, (ornamented as it is seen to be in the early Gothic style,) cannot be supported. And he admits, that even bishop Lowth has been guilty of an inadvertence, when he speaks of the same part having been raised by our Norman prelate Walkelin. (3) He gives me credit for having discovered the real tenant of the tomb, hitherto absurdly attributed to king Lucius, (4) and he even allows that an opinion which I have heretofore had the honour of contesting with him on the spot, may possibly be true; namely, that the *whole* western end of the Cathedral was not built by Wykeham, as bishop Lowth asserts, but that certain windows and buttresses, which I have pointed out, were raised by Wykeham's predecessor, Edyngton. (5)

The only point which Dr. S. seems disposed to contest with me seriously, being of a theological nature, and being evidently mis-stated by him, I shall

(1) Hist. vol. i, p. 253. Reflect. 282.

(2) Descrip. of Winchester, p. 77.

(3) Reflect. p. 282, 284.

(4) Ibid. p. 283.

(5) Ibid. p. 284.

here pass it over: for the question is not, whether the ancient authorities cited by me are sufficient to support the practice of praying for the dead, but whether they are sufficient to overturn the origin which bishop Lowth assigns to it. (1)

The critic now returns to the subject of architecture, and presents us with a supposed discovery of Dr. Warton, and his brother Thomas; on which I have heard them descant with rapture in the cathedral itself. The substance of this system is, that "bishop Fox, when he made his improvements at the beginning of the sixteenth century, cut off so much from the eastern end of the ancient sanctuary, as now forms the three chapels behind it, and that in return he extended the choir beyond the line of the transepts, to the westward. (2) Dr. S. himself finds some difficulty attending this system; which, on the other hand, I have clearly confuted. (3) At present it will be sufficient to observe, that the three chapels, which Fox is supposed to have first built upon part of the ancient sanctuary, are ascertained, from the monk of Winchester, to have existed 70 years before he began his alterations. (4)

The remainder of the critical remarks of Dr. S. may be disposed of in a narrow compass. He asserts, that he has never heard of the proposal for removing the Cathedral Altar Screen; which, however, I certainly have heard of, and that from personages of high rank. (5) Thus much is evident, that he praises this horrid dilapidation, as it has been practised in other cathedrals, though I have demonstrated it to be as open a violation of the first Rubrick in the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England, as it is of all propriety and taste, and of the principles of the beautiful and sublime. (6) He finds fault with me for saying that *Barton* Farm was anciently called *De La Berton*, though in this particular I have followed no less an authority than Wykeham himself. (7) He makes it a matter of

(1) Hist. vol. II, p. 26. Reflect. p. 287.

(2) Reflect. p. 288.

(3) Append. to Letters, first ed. p. 28.

(4) Rudborne, Hist. Maj. I. III, c. 6.

(5) Reflect. p. 289.

(6) See a Dissertation on the Modern Style of altering Ancient Cathedrals.

(7) Reflect. p. 291.

doubt, whether the Mastership of the famous hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester, is properly an ecclesiastical benefice; in which, as well as in some other instances, he appears to be less friendly to the establishment than I do. (1) He defends the dismantling of our venerable city, by destroying its gates, on the ground of advantages, which might otherwise have been obtained; (2) and lastly, he denies that the decline of our ancient renowned Fair of St. Giles's-hill is connected with the decay of Winchester: assigning a cause for this decay, which would prove that there can be no flourishing fair at Weyhill, nor in any other part of the kingdom. (3)

The learned Doctor had, in the body of his work, formed other objections to certain facts related in this History; several of which he has, in his second edition, very handsomely withdrawn. In particular, he allows that I have completely justified my assertion, that all our sovereigns, from Henry VIII. down to Charles I. claimed and exercised a paramount authority in colleges, of which they were not the regular visitors, to as great (or rather a much greater) extent than James II. did. (4) The only remaining point, to which I have occasion to advert, regards a certain Rev. Mr. Wavell, to whom I had ascribed the whole composition of a former History of Winchester, in two duodecimo volumes, and whom I had frequently quoted as author of that work; whereas it is now asserted, that he only drew up the account of Magdalen-hospital, in the second volume. This in general, by other critics, (5) as well as by Dr. S., has been ascribed to prejudice on my part. (6) The truth however is, I never knew Mr. Wavell, he having died before I was acquainted with Winchester; nor did I ever hear any thing of him, except that he was the author of the History in question; a fact that was never contradicted, to my knowledge, when it was mentioned in conversation, or even when it appeared in print, (7) several years before I thought of writing my History. In fact, till this came forth, and clearly

(1) Reflect. p. 291.

(2) Ibid. p. 292.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Hist. vol. 1, p. 439. Reflect. p. 206.

(5) Critical Review, April 1800.

(6) Reflect. p. 250.

(7) In the Gent. Mag. about the year 1787.

demonstrated that the former work was a tissue of blunders and falsehood, it was thought no disgrace for Mr. Wavell, or any one else, to have written it. In libraries, it held an honourable place; and it kept up a high price in catalogues; the celebrated Grose frequently referred to it; (1) and it had even been quoted with respect in the most splendid work of our Society of Antiquaries. (2)

In conclusion, I have not taken advantage, on one hand, of the avowal that Mr. Wavell wrote *a part* of the work, and, on the other, that some *one individual* came forward in the dedication, as author of *the whole*; but, in deference to the declarations of my respectable opponent, I have acquitted the memory of his deceased friend, from the imputation in question; and as there is no one else found to lay any claim to the work, for himself or any of his connexions, I have, in the present edition, quoted it as *THE ANONYMOUS HISTORY*.

The second writer, who honoured the present work with his printed observations, was *THE REV. DR. HOADLY ASHE*, in "*A Letter to the Rev. J. Milner, &c. occasioned by his false and illiberal Aspersions on the Memory of Bishop Hoadly.*" (3) The avowed object of this publication, which is ushered in with compliments to the present History, much too lofty for its Author to repeat, is to vindicate the memory of his maternal great-uncle, Bishop Hoadly, from the charge of having *undermined the church, of which he was a prelate*; (4) which charge I grounded on his having propagated a system, that gives up all pretensions to a divinely established ministry, to independent spiritual jurisdiction, and even to an invariable code of faith. (5) It is on this groundwork of the accusation, and not on the censure I have passed on certain incongruous ornaments of the bishop's monument, or on the excavation of the pillar in the cathedral to receive this monument, that such an outcry has been raised against me by so

(1) See the account of Winchester, in his Antiquities. (2) *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. III.

(3) Oct. pp. 96. London, Nichols, Bickerstaff; Winchester, Robbins.

(4) *Hist.* vol. II, p. 33.

(5) *Hist.* vol. I, p. 445.

many modern divines, as well as by Dr. H. Ashe. As, however, I have discussed this important point at full length with Dr. S. (1) I feel myself dispensed with, from taking any further notice of it here. The remainder of Dr. H. Ashe's objections, though they are spun out to a great extent, may be answered in a few words. It is incontestably evident to every eye, and it is expressly testified by the very stone-mason, whose letter the Doctor publishes, that one of the great pillars which support the cathedral, (to make use of my former words) "has been cut away to a considerable depth, in order to make place for the monument." (2) With respect to the reflection that I have made upon Bishop Hoadly as a dramatic writer, (3) instead of availing myself of the information which I gained from his little nephew, namely, that he did actually compose for the theatre; (4) I have unequivocally owned my error in mistaking Dr. Hoadly, Bishop of Winchester, for his son Dr. Hoadly, Chancellor of Winchester. (5) But I have cautioned Dr. H. A. how he construes this inadvertence into "an illiberal aspersion, and an insidious attack;" by reminding him, that "this would only be to transfer the charge, whatever it may be, from the shoulders of his great uncle to those of his immediate uncle, whom he and Dr. S. admit to have been passionately addicted to theatrical compositions and representations." In fact, as I have said, "if it is so indecorous for a Bishop to employ his time in such profane and dangerous amusements, it is but one degree less so for his son, a Prebendary, and the Chancellor of his father's diocese, to be thus employed."

I shall be excused for not following the Rev. Gentleman, in his numerous and prolix remarks on the several emblems in the deceased prelate's coat of arms, engraved on his monument; when I mention, that he even finds fault with me for "not attacking the figure of the pelican, which is seen there," (6)

(1) See the article Hoadlyism, in Letters to a Preb.

(2) Vol. II, p. 33.

(3) Ibid. p. 32.

(4) See the Prologue to *All for Love*, by Bishop Hoadly. Letter, p. 21.

(5) Appendix, &c. p. 288.

(6) Letter, p. 45.

as well as in various other parts of the cathedral, particularly over the communion table, where it appears emblazoned with gilding, and as large as life; having been placed there by bishop Curle and dean Young, in the reign of Charles I. and preserved ever since. This emblem the Rev. Doctor call "an absurd, impure, unclean image, and unworthy of a Protestant church:" (1) for the retaining of which, he pronounces a sentence of excommunication on the present dignitaries of the cathedral. (2) But how does Dr. H. A. make out this heavy charge, and justify this severe sentence? Why; he has discovered what, he says, "will be a very unwelcome truth to me, that the *pelican* is the *onocratulus*, a bird that was unclean by the Levitical law." This is just as much as to say, that it was unlawful for the Jews to eat pelicans. But need I inform this learned gentleman, that it was equally prohibited under the old law to feed upon the eagle and the lion, and that nevertheless these are adopted as emblems of the most sacred persons and things in the word of God itself? But without, however, going farther; surely the Doctor does not wish to tear the supporters of his Majesty's arms, the lion and the unicorn, out of all the churches in the kingdom!

I am now going to make my appearance before those redoubted judges in the republic of letters, the Reviewers by profession; though they, like other men, sometimes mistake their talents and calling. The first of these who commented upon my History, though a dignitary of the church, highly allied, and an indefatigable writer both in prose and verse, was nevertheless rather a provincial empyric in the line of criticism, than a regular practitioner. His work, called *THE HAMPSHIRE REPOSITORY*, was of the nature of those, which were heretofore termed *Quodlibetical Books*, professing to treat *de omni scibili*: of course there was a necessity that something should appear in it concerning History and Antiquities. Hence, the present work happening to be published much about the same time with this Repository,

(1) Letter, p. 47.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid. p. 48.

served to exercise all the ingenuity of a gentleman, who was forced to write on subjects which he had never studied. (1) When I have mentioned that this periodical work, instead of coming forward *annually*, according to the engagement of its undertaker, could hardly crawl through two numbers in the course of above three years, and that it then sunk into the silent and oblivious grave; and when I shall have exhibited a few specimens of the criticisms contained in it; I am confident the reader will excuse me from giving a distinct reply to each of them, as I purpose doing with respect to the criticisms of the other reviewers.

In attempting to confute the account of the conversion of king Lucius, which I have given from Bede, Nennius, and our other original writers, the Hampshire critic says: "We think it much more probable that, upon the emperor's conversion, Lucius, little better than his viceroy in Britain, paid him the compliment of following his example." (2) Now, the emperor, at the time when Lucius embraced the Christian faith, was the famous *Pagan* philosopher Marcus Aurelius, who reigned in the second century of Christianity; whereas every schoolboy knows that the first *Christian* emperor was Constantine the Great, who was not converted till the fourth century!

The great fault which I have to find with our Hampshire critic, as may be gathered from what I have said of him, is, that being totally unacquainted with ancient documents, he every where boldly opposes them with his own conjectures: He gives striking instances of this, in what he says concerning the ancient patron of his cathedral, St. Amphiballus, and the first bishop of his diocese, St. Birinus, whom he confounds together; though the former was a British martyr, who suffered about the year 300, and the latter an Italian prelate, who landed in England in the year 636. Grounding his

(1) The editor, whom I believe to be well informed on subjects of law, agriculture, botany, &c. in his second volume, throws the responsibility of the criticisms on some subordinate writer. Of course my censure must fall where it is due.

(2) Hampshire Repository, vol. 1, p. 115.

confused system on the miracle reported of St. *Birinus*, by Bede, &c. he intimates that the name of this saint is derived from *brine*; namely, the brine of the sea on which he is said to have walked. (1) On the other hand, he tells us that the word *Amphiballus* is a misnomer for *Amphibitus*; which word, he informs us, “means a man who is capable of walking both on sea and land.” (2) *Therefore*, (he concludes) St. *Amphiballus* and St. *Birinus* were one and the same person. Q. E. D.—When we meet with such etymologies, and such theories built upon them by a grave critic and divine, we are led to believe that Swift was really serious, in deriving the name of *Achilles* from the supposed cry of the Trojans, at the sight of that hero, *Ah—kill—us*;—and the name of the famous Grecian peninsula, from the call of its damsels, for help to raise their buckets of water: *Pail—up—and—ease—us*;—and lastly the name of *Strabo*, from the elegance and wanderings of that celebrated geographer, who was therefore called *The Stray—beau*.

Yet even to the Hampshire Repository I owe a debt, which I here cheerfully acknowledge. I have said that the editor of it is learned in the law. Accordingly to him I impute the first hint I received, (3) of what I have since ascertained, that the law term *pannagium* does not mean a duty upon cloth, (4) but a privilege of feeding pigs. (5)

Amongst the known and established Reviews, THE ANTI-JACOBIN was the earliest in bringing THE HISTORY OF WINCHESTER to public notice. (6) The account of it which there occurs, is almost a continued eulogium. The Author is particularly complimented for being “acquainted with the Chroniclers and Monkish Historians in a superior degree.” Indeed it was chiefly from their writings, that the knowledge of his subject was to be obtained. As the first volume of this work teems with proofs, not only of

(1) Vol. i, part 2, p. 57.

(2) Vol. i, p. 119.

(3) Vol. ii, Article, Criticism.

(4) It was thus given in the translation of a record in the first edition, vol. i, p. 271.

(5) Du Cange, Glossar.

(6) Numbers for February and March, 1799.

the negligence, but also of the deliberate infidelity of the too celebrated Hume, in writing his History of England; the Anti-Jacobin shews particular satisfaction in displaying several of them. He admits also, that "the Author has detected many errors in Warton, Lowth, and Carte;" and repeatedly bestows upon him the praise of great skill in the different kinds of ancient architecture."

In exchange for these compliments, the Reviewer does the Author a singular injustice, in signifying that he wrote for the sake of emolument, and not to communicate information. This he illogically infers from the Author's having stated, that the work was written "at the request of a respectable Bookseller," and that "a little more than a twelvemonth before the first volume of it appeared, he little expected to add to the number of topographical writers." Now, it is a fact, which this respectable Bookseller will at all times confirm, that the Author never received any profit or indemnification whatever, for his trouble and expences in this great undertaking, (though amongst the latter may be reckoned a tour which he made to most of the celebrated cathedrals and churches in England, for the purpose of studying ancient architecture,) except a few copies of the work to present to his friends.

The chief fault which this Reviewer finds with me, (and upon which I shall dwell the longer, because it is repeated by other critics,) is, that I am too credulous in admitting the marvellous narrations of ancient writers. At all events, if it be a fault to stick too close to my authorities, it is a fault on the right side; unlike that of most modern historians, who present their own fictions or conjectures for facts. But to answer the charge more directly: My rule has been, to discredit every story of this nature, which I found to rest on the mere authority of one or two writers of little credit, or who lived at a great distance from the time or place of the reported prodigy. Thus, though I have related, in detail, the once favourite story of our city, concerning queen Emma's walking in its cathedral, unhurt, over red hot plough-shares; yet, as this reported ordeal is not mentioned by

Malmsbury, Huntingdon, Rievallis, Simon of Durham, &c. who, to speak in general, are more judicious and well informed, as well as more ancient writers, than Rudborne, Brompton, and Higden, the reporters of it, I have sufficiently intimated that it is not to be believed. But when I find miracles, such as those performed by a St. Augustine and a St. Birinus, in the conversion of our Pagan ancestors, certified by all our *original writers*, recorded on their sepulchres, (1) and celebrated to the remotest ends of Christianity; (2) when I meet with a serious caution against vain glory, addressed to St. Augustine of Canterbury, in a confidential letter, by his friend St. Gregory the Great, (3) in consequence of the known miracles he wrought; when I weigh the reflection of St. Augustine of Hippo, that "it would be a greater miracle if Pagan nations were converted *without* miracles, than that miracles themselves should be actually performed; when, in short, I have almost daily before my eyes the living proof of a cure, as supernatural and sudden as any one upon record (the evidence of which I have laid before the public:) (4) in such circumstances, I should feel conscious of a criminal compromise with the incredulity of the age, were I to reject such irrefragable authorities for the miraculous events in question. But this, says the Reviewer, would be "to extend the age of miracles beyond what Protestants allow;" which is precisely the argument of the Jews against the blind man, who had recovered his sight; (5) intimating that facts ought to bend to systems, instead of systems bending to facts. The truth is, Protestants could never fix on any period when miracles ceased; some allowing those of St. Francis of Xavier, the apostle of the east in the 16th century, others those of St. Bernard in the 12th century, some those of St. Augustine, St. Birinus, &c. in the 7th century, others those of the three first centuries;

(1) *A Deo operatione miraculorum suffultus.*" Epitaph of St. Aug. in Camden's Remains.

(2) St. Greg. writing to Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria, compares these miracles with those wrought by the Apostles. L. vii. Ep. 30. (3) Ep. 58. Bede, l. 1, c. 31.

(4) See "Authentic Documents of the miraculous Cure of W. White, July 28, 1805." 3d edit. Keating and Co. &c. (5) John ix, 29.

whilst others will admit of none but such as took place in the life time of the apostles. I should be glad, however, to know, upon what grounds man pretends to arrest the hand of the Almighty, at any one period of Christianity, from those miraculous interpositions which we discover at all the periods of the Jewish and Patriarch dispensations. Certainly he has no warrant for denying the continuance of miracles, from any declaration that our Saviour has made on this subject. So far from this, Christ expressly says: *He that believeth in me, the works that I do, he shall do, and greater works than these he shall do.* John xiv. 12.

As the authorities of Hoveden, and of the Annals of Winchester, and of Worcester, with respect to the number of the judges itinerant, and the manner of making their circuits, do not expressly warrant the inferences I have drawn from them with respect to the reign of Henry III. I have suppressed the short note which the Reviewer objects to, on the authority of Maddox. (1) But on the other hand, I cannot admit the argument of this writer, concerning the law of celibacy imposed upon the ancient clergy; namely, that because there are proofs of several of them having violated the law, they were therefore authorised by the canons to do so. Nor can I allow, that in my laborious researches into the Antiquities of Winchester, I have “overlooked an abbey of royal foundation, having superiors who ranked as peers of the realm, &c.” The fact is, this Abbey of St. Peter, (2) which the Reviewer thinks he has discovered, is no other than The *New Minster*, afterwards called *Hyde Abbey*; a connected history of which, I conceive, has for the first time appeared in the present work.

To conclude; this candid writer subscribes to my vindication of the crusades, in opposition to the declamations of Voltaire, and his followers; (3) and even joins with me (so different are the judgments of men) in that censure upon bishop Hoadly, which has raised such a torrent of obloquy against me among modern divines.

(1) Vol. II, p. 162, 1st ed.

(2) It was dedicated to St. Peter, Paul, and Grimbald.

(3) Vol. I, p. 266.

THE MONTHLY REVIEWER next claims my notice. (1) It is plain that he and I should be upon the best footing imaginable, were it not for one defect, of which we mutually accuse each other. He insists, that my judgment is warped by religious prejudice, whilst I think and say exactly the same thing of him. His strictures are introduced with the following compliment; which, qualified as it is, will serve as an antidote to the malignity of a rival performance that I shall soon have to notice. "In the perusal of this publication," (the History and Antiquities of Winchester) says the Monthly Reviewer, "we have derived much pleasure from the local and general information which it affords. But instructed and impressed as we have been by many parts of this performance, and disposed as we are to acknowledge that the Author is entitled to respectful notice for the extent of his erudition and investigation, we are sorry to be under the necessity, not only of restricting our commendation, but of expressing our extreme disgust with which we have perused several passages of the work;" namely, those in which he afterwards charges me with making "a laboured effort to vindicate the avowed patrons of this obnoxious system (Popery) from deserved reproach, and to degrade the most distinguished advocates of the Reformation." But as all and every one of the subjects alluded to in this passage, or afterwards more distinctly mentioned in the Review, have been debated in detail between Dr. S. in his "*Reflections on Popery*," and me in my "*Letters to a Prebendary*," I shall take no farther notice of them here, than barely to refer the reader to those works.

The Monthly Reviewer next proceeds to give an abridgment of the History, as likewise several copious extracts from it; with an air of general approbation, and very few comments. He appears to commend, in particular, the distinction that is made between the *Caer Gwent* and *Caer Segent*, or *Sient* of Hampshire, namely, Winchester and Silchester; and the *Caer Gwent* and *Caer Seient* of Wales; the former near Caerleon, the latter at Caernarvon: by which the British and Saxon histories are recon-

(1) No. for April 1800.

ciled together, and the reader is enabled to form more clear and accurate ideas of the exploits of the renowned king Arthur, than he had probably formed before.

It follows from what I have intimated above, that in my opinion I have brought demonstrative proofs,(1) that the riots and murders committed by Wat Tyler, John Ball, and their democratic followers, are to be chiefly ascribed to the seditious and levelling doctrines of Ball's master, Wycliff; that the persecutions exercised upon Protestants by Catholics, are as little connected with the religion of the Catholics, as those exercised by a Cranmer, an Elizabeth, a Calvin, a Synod of Dort, or a Court of High Commission, are connected with Protestantism; that the writer has been misled by Hume, with respect to the number and character of the Protestant sufferers under Mary, and that I have abundant and incontestable authority for all that I have advanced with respect to the Catholic sufferers under Elizabeth. The Reviewer has not found time to notice my second volume; in which, judging from what he has said of the first, I presume he would have found very little to complain of.

It is not to be supposed by those who are in the habit of perusing a periodical review, that they are uniformly reading the compositions of the same man, or of the same set of men: as it is a fact well known in the republic of letters, that by making an interest, or by giving a bribe, a writer may frequently be permitted to publish a review of his own work; and what is worse, of the work of his enemy. This remark was necessary, previously to my mentioning, that having had the misfortune to incur the severe displeasure of one or two literary characters, I heard of nothing more frequently than of the threats of their vengeance. These were poured forth, not only in the haunts of the learned, but also in stage-coaches, and amongst ignorant people, who knew nothing of me or my writings; but who, like me, stood in dumb expectation of what these threats might end in. At length came forth from the press *THE CRITICAL REVIEW* for the month of April 1800;

(1) In the Letters to a Prebendary.

when I immediately recognized my implacable foes by their furious wrath, intemperate language, and peculiar *Shibboleth*.

After giving some extracts from my work, this writer enters upon his task of defaming it, with a complaint that, instead of passing over the fables relating to the origin of Winchester, I stopped by the way, to refute them. The reader will not fail to see into the motive of this complaint; namely, a wish to rob the History of its first merit, that of dissipating the errors which had found place in all former accounts of our city, and which stood emblazoned in its public monuments. In the next place, the critic copies the objection of Dr. S. concerning the discoveries of Rocher de Guerin and Bonnaud, to which I have already replied. He then complains that, in the distinction which I have made between the Celtic and Belgic inhabitants of Britain, at the time of its invasion by Julius Cæsar, I have “unaccountably omitted the grand consideration that the Belgæ used the Gothic tongue.” To this I answer: 1st, That there is no authority whatever, either Roman or British, for supposing that there was a diversity of languages amongst the inhabitants of our island at the period in question. 2dly, That the Belgæ were not Goths; the latter people not being known, and not even existing in Europe, till long after that period. 3dly, That there never was a language properly termed *Gothic*, as the language which all the tribes of this immense population spoke, was the Teutonic. The critic says, that I “start a singular idea, in terming the instruments called *Celts*, the *tomahawks* (or battle axes) of the ancient Britons.” This, however, only proves his little acquaintance with the dissertations of former writers on this subject, (1) and even with our British coins. (2) He then

(1) See a “Discourse concerning some Antiquities found in Yorkshire,” in Leland’s *Itinerary*, by Hearne; where a Celt in the form of an axe is engraved. See also Whitaker on *Celts*, *Hist. of Manchester*. According to this system, a short piece of wood was fastened in the hollow of the Celt, and this was let into the handle, and made fast to it with a thong passed through the loop.

(2) See two of these *Celts* on a British coin, in Whitaker’s *Manchester*, vol. 1, p. 22, 8vo. and another on the reverse of one of the well-known copper coins of Cunobelin.

proceeds as follows: "We have been informed by a learned friend, that the word *Celtis* is used in the Vulgate translation of the Bible for a wedge or chissel; but we have not an opportunity of verifying the reference." Strange it is that neither the library of this learned critic, nor that of his *learned friend*, who communicated the information, nor the library of *any* of his friends, should furnish so common a book as a Vulgate Bible! But supposing he had found the word where it occurs, in Job c. xix, v. 24, or in some classical inscription, (1) or even in Littleton's Dictionary, as signifying a graver or chissel; still he would be as far from his mark as ever, which is to prove that the instrument answered the purpose of a chissel to the *Britons*: unless he could also shew (contrary to the fact) that they, as well as the Romans, called a graver or chissel by some such name as *Celtis*. (2) The truth is, every learned man knows, that the term of Celt has been arbitrarily applied by antiquaries to this antique instrument, within little more than a century.

The critic having given such proofs of his *learning*, now gives full scope to his *temper*. He reproaches me with "overwhelming him with prolix and extraneous discussion, the shew and not the substance of inquiry, the lees and caput mortuum of erudition; and in his disgust at my general manner," as he terms it, he compares himself to "a hunter who shrinks, when some animals exert their fætor." Now, what is it that calls forth all this abusive and foul language, so unworthy a scholar, and a gentleman? It is barely a note, in which I prove that the renowned heroine Boadicea was called by different names amongst the classical writers, who took strange liberties with the names of those whom they termed barbarians, by way of

(1) Du Cange gives us the following inscription, taken from an ancient Roman monument: "*Malleolo et Celte literatus Cilex*."

(2) The Celts in our cabinets are proved to be a composition of brass and tin, and therefore are of too soft a nature to form gravers or chissels. If they have sometimes been found in quarries, they have oftener been found in military entrenchments. I myself am possessed of a Celt and a brazen spear-head, which, with others of the same kind, were found at the *Castra Exploratorum*, near the Grampian-hills, by colonel Hume.

smoothing and latinizing them; and that, owing to the same cause, the celebrated Caractacus of the Roman historians is to be considered as the same chieftain with the Arviragus of the British writers, and of Juvenal. But the critic gives it as "a striking instance of my ignorance," that I admit at all as genuine, the coins of Boduo, or Boadicea, Arivog, or Arviragus, and king Lucius, though these have been published as such by Camden, Gibson, Speed, Usher, &c.; and though the coins of Lucius in particular, says Whitaker, "which were first mentioned by archbishop Usher, are more or less depended upon by all." (1) The only answer I shall make to this is, that in such company I am contented to be called ignorant by the Critical Reviewer. He next complains that he has in vain consulted Usher for the coins of Lucius. The reader, however, will judge from the passage of Whitaker, what grounds there are for charging me with forgery in this particular: and as to the alleged vagueness of my citations in general, I maintain that, without loading my margin too much, they are sufficiently clear and precise, for the use of any man of real learning.

The critic proceeds to strew his way with fresh flowers of rhetoric. He charges me "with the greatest retrograde force of knowledge, and the greatest alacrity in sinking, (he) ever met with;" and says, that my "mind is stored with acquired ignorance;" if any one can understand these forms of speech, farther than that they are intended to insult me. And why am I thus insulted? For no other reason, than because I have not adopted the wild conceit of some nameless writer, that St. Ursula had a companion called *Undecimillia*; so that instead of 11,000 brides for the British colony in America, only two were sent over: "a fancy," says the learned Butler, "destitute of all shadow of foundation, and exploded by all." (2) It were well, however, if the critic had confined his indecent abuse to me, with whom he was angry, and had not insulted public morality and Christianity; where speaking of these illustrious heroines, who are not otherwise

(1) Hist. Manch. vol. 1, p. 196, 8vo.

(2) Saint's Lives, Oct. 21.

known than as having died in defence of their faith and chastity, he profanely exclaims: "What a prize for the devil's maw!"

But to make as short work as I can with this angry critic, (though I should be sorry to leave any of his objections unrefuted,) the assertions of our original historians, respecting the vast size of the Saxon transports, called *cuyles*, and the number of men embarked on board of them, are by no means improbable, (1) when we find that the hosts which issued from five, or even from three of them, were sometimes sufficient to beat whole armies of Britons. (2) Nor is there any impropriety in calling the poets, who used the Runic dialect and character, *Runic Bards*. Much less is it a proof of ignorance, to illustrate the manners of our Pagan ancestors, by a story taken from Mathew of Westminster, notwithstanding the same story is, to my knowledge, related by Paul the Deacon. The miracle related of St. Birinus, I have discussed above, with another critic, and therefore need not mention it here. It is demonstratively evident, from Bede, St. Prosper, Fordun, and all ancient writers, that the Scotch Highlanders were converted by St. Palladius, at the very same time that St. Patrick was employed in converting the Irish Scots, with the other inhabitants of Ireland. But this carping critic, who reproaches me with ignorance, is himself evidently ignorant that there was a people of Scots in *Scotland*, and a people of Scots in *Ireland*, at the time in question, namely, in the fifth century. I repeat it, that St. Ninian was the apostle of the Picts, who inhabited from the borders of Westmoreland to the Grampian mountains; at the same time that I have not to learn from the critic, that the Northern Picts were converted by St. Columba Columbkil, as late as the year 636.

The critic must excuse me, if I rather credit Higden in the 14th century,

(1) Hist. vol. 1, p. 65.

(2) The critic says, "We have in vain explored the passage of Verstegan;" which says that each of the three vessels of Hengist and Horsa contained 2000 men. The truth is, he asserts the same thing, where he says that the three vessels contained 9000 men. *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, by R. V. p. 93.—If called upon by any gentleman, I will deposit the work with some bookseller in London.

and Rudborne in the 15th, affirming that Egbert was crowned king of all England, (1) than him denying it at the present day. To deprive him of his only ground for this denial, namely, the coexistence of an alleged independent kingdom of Northumberland, it will be sufficient for me to refer to the note below. (2) The reader will judge, from a future article, what reason I had for accusing Carte, Rapin, Guthrie, and Hume, of a malicious perversion of history, with respect to the transaction between St. Dunstan and king Edwy. (3) In the mean time, if the critic, by way of giving vent to his spleen, chooses to call "Dunstan a knave, and Edwy a fool;" I must remind him, that this is nothing to the purpose, whilst he proves himself incapable of shaking any one of my arguments or authorities, relating to this transaction. When this critic (who did not know the meaning of the word *Cellis*,) reproaches me with not understanding the Latin inscription of the city seal, which I have decyphered, (4) I may be allowed to tell him, in return, that he knows nothing of those *Jura Regalia* implied by that legend: and I repeat it again, as a fact, to which I myself have been witness within these late years, that this very seal is still used by the magistrates of the city, in deeds of importance. With equal modesty, the critic accuses me of an error, in saying that Edward I. conducted his *daughter* (instead of saying his *sister*) to take the veil at Amesbury. (5) I will give my authority, and then leave the reader to judge, whether I or the critic has cause to blush. (6)

The critic now takes breath, in some long extracts from the History,

(1) Hist. vol. 1, p. 116.

(2) "Eodem anno Northanimbri, qui se solos remanisse cernerunt, timentes ne diu conceptam iram in ipsos effunderet (Egbertus), tandem, datis obsidibus, faverunt deditiōi. Ita totâ Britanniâ potitus, reliquum vitæ, per annos novem tranquillè cucurrit." Gul. Malm. De Gest. Reg. Angl. l. 11, c. 1.

(3) Hist. vol. 1, p. 153.

(4) Ibid. p. 268.

(5) Ibid. p. 265.

(6) "Anno 1285, Rex die Assumptionis fecit *filiam suam*, nomine Mariam, velari apud Ambresbury, cum 13 puellis, filiabus nobilium." Annales Wigorn. Anglia Sacra. vol. 1, p. 508.

which he gives without comment; but, returning to the charge, he concludes in his usual style, by comparing me to “a man fighting in the dark, who mistakes his friends for his foes;” and to “a scorpion inclosed with fire, which (he tells us) wounds its head with its tail.” The occasion of this abuse is, that I have censured, as ungraceful, the taste of the citizens in building their houses with *bow-windows*. (1) This the critic calls “a light and elegant style of architecture;” and sarcastically asks me, if I “never heard of an Oriel window, the peculiar feature (he says) of the Author’s favourite Gothic?” To this I answer, that I never informed him that the Gothic is my favourite style for dwelling-houses; that I know well what an Oriel window is; that it is a feature in the last and worst style of what is called Gothic, and that it is as different from a bow-window, as it well can be; the latter being the segment of a circle, whilst the former is made up of angles and straight lines; being generally the half of a pentagon, hexagon, or octagon.

With his usual candour, and uncommon sagacity, the writer infers, from my regretting the destruction of Winchester’s distinctions as a city, namely, its gates, walls, and military fosses, (2) in order to make place for a few flower-gardens, that I am “an enemy to the progress of knowledge, improvement, and national prosperity!”—But it is time to take leave of the Critical Review, with a caution to the conductors of it, not to open their pages in future to the effusions of private animosity, to the bare-faced impugning of printed records, or to indecent and intemperate language of any kind.

My CRITICAL REVIEWER for July 1800, (if perchance he be the same man who abused me in the preceding April,) having fired away all his sulphureous vapours, becomes as serene and placid as the sky after a thunder storm, when he reviews my second volume. He no longer feels any “disgust from my general manner;” and, instead of “shrinking from the chase by the exerted fœtor,” he follows it with apparent satisfaction, through

(1) Vol. 1, p. 448.

(2) Ibid.

twelve closely printed pages of quotations. He begins his account with acknowledging that "The descriptive part is executed with considerable care and accuracy;" and he ends it, with allowing that "The second volume is deserving of praise." There are but two points which he seems inclined to contest with me. In the first of these, alluding to my account of Arthur's Round Table, he says, "We know of no authority for the use of a round table at festivals. All the ancient authors use the expression in the sense of a kind of tournament, or for the spot where such kinds of tournaments were solemnized." If the Critical Reviewer *know of no such authority*, it is a proof of *his* ignorance, not of *mine*; as in looking no farther than Du Cange's Glossary, and the authorities there referred to, he will find, that the species of tournament, called the *Round Table*, derived its name from the custom of placing the high mettled knights who came to practise it, at a round table, when they dined together, in order to prevent disputes amongst them about precedence.

Still I am of opinion, that the critic knows more about *eating-tables*, than he does about *cathedrals*. This I gather, from his remarks on my Survey of the Cathedral of Winchester. He professes, in common with myself, to have been always "struck with uncommon awe by the interior of this sacred edifice;" and yet he is a professed advocate for the modern system of demolishing altar-screens, banishing altars and rails, levelling chancels, and, in short, for taking away every thing that constitutes the retirement, dignity, and solemnity of the choir, and for reducing it to a long, disproportioned, unmeaning ambulatory! The critic professes to have contested this point with me on a former occasion,;(1) and adds, that he suspects me to be actuated by "personal pique," in my observations on this subject. It is true, this critic, or some one else, under his name, announced my Dissertation,(2) and recapitulated some of my arguments, whilst others, particularly that which regards the first Rubric in the Book of Common

(1) Critical Review, vol. xxviii, p. 331.

(2) On the modern Style of altering ancient Cathedrals.

Prayer, he did not so much as mention; but he proved himself to be utterly incapable of discussing any one of the arguments. He is just as destitute of grounds for his suspicions, as for his system. I have not the least knowledge of, or prejudice against, the celebrated architect who has been employed in making the alterations which have taken place in the cathedrals of Salisbury, Lichfield, &c. I believe him to be at the head of his profession in the *Grecian* style; but a regard for truth and antiquity, obliges me to express my conviction, that he is but half learned in the *pointed order*, and to make use of the words of a learned bishop of the establishment, that “he is ignorant of the nature and purposes of a cathedral.” (1) I respect the munificent prelate, whose progress is every where marked by a zeal for improving the works of our ancestors; but I should not think so highly of him as I do, if I thought him capable of being offended with any one for difference of opinion, in matters of taste and literature.

It is with heartfelt satisfaction, I now turn from a *soi-disant* critic, to a writer who is really deserving of that title, for his moderation, judgment, equity, and erudition. I speak of THE BRITISH CRITIC, who reviewed THE HISTORY OF WINCHESTER in his three successive numbers for February, March, and April, 1800. It is true, he enters upon his task with what he calls “some excusable prejudices;” but these he promises “to resist;” and indeed he keeps his word. Speaking, on the other hand, of the prejudices which he attributes to me, he thus expresses himself: “We find the Author, though too dignified in mind to suppress his religion, or to conceal his prejudices, yet often acting ingenuously under both.” When writers of different opinions, but entertaining sentiments of liberality and respect for each other, thus meet in candid discussion, the cause of truth is sure to gain, and the public will not be disgusted with terms of vulgar and indecent abuse.

The Reviewer’s first remark on my work, consists of verbal criticism. He

(1) Dr. Douglas, late bishop of Salisbury.

is offended at my "profaneness," when I say in one place, that "The memory of the late duke of Chandos is still *adored* at Winchester; (1) and, in another, that "his Majesty is *adored* by all descriptions of his subjects." (2) Thus many of my neighbours, who would think themselves guilty of idolatry, were they to acknowledge *worship* to be due to St. Paul in heaven, or to the book of Gospels which they kiss in the courts here upon oath; yet scruple not to *worship* their yoke-companions, (3) and to own worship to be due to the lowest order of magistrates. (4) What a pity that religious disputes should be raised, and kept up, about mere words, when the sense is clear! To prevent this, however, as much as lies in their power, Catholics now are careful in confining the words *adoration* and *worship* to the service due to the Deity; and accordingly I myself have qualified, in the present edition, the two sentences objected to.

Nothing can surprise me more, than to hear this respectable writer objecting to me at the very outset of my work, that "I move awkwardly," when I derive the syllable *Win* in *Winchester*, from *Gwent* or *Gwin*, (5) signifying *White* in the Celtic language; a derivation which has been admitted by almost all philologists, ancient and modern: (6) whereas his deduction of it from the Latin word *Venta*, as its original root, and his supposition that this word meant "the chief city of a certain people, as *Venta Silurum* (the metropolis of the Silures), *Venta Icenorum* (the metropolis of the Iceni)," is destitute of all authority, (7) and all argument. For surely he will allow, that Winchester had a *British*, before it had a Roman name: secondly, *Venta Silurum* was most assuredly not the principal place of the Silures, but the neighbouring city of *Caer-Leon*; (8) and

(1) Dedication.

(2) Vol. 1, p. 439.

(3) "With my body *I thee worship*." Form of Matrimony in the Common Prayer.

(4) The *worshipful* Mr. Alderman, or Mr. Justice N.

(5) Vol. 1, p. 5.

(6) Bede, Huntindon, Gal. Monum. Mat. West, Beverley, Higden, Rudborne, Camden, Gale, &c.

(7) Except Whitaker.

(8) This is demonstratively proved from Higden, Polychron, l. 1.

there is some reason to doubt, whether *Venta Icenorum*, Caster in Norfolk, was the chief city of the Icenî, and not rather *Caer-Grant*, Cambridge, or *Caer-Colun*, Camulodunum. Thirdly, if *Venta* meant the metropolis of a people, we should have a *Venta Trinobantum*, a *Venta Atrebatum*, and above twenty other Ventas, during the Roman period. I have equal authority for asserting, that *Caer-Segent*, or *Seient*, the capital of the Segontiaci of Cæsar, was Silchester; though I have only modern authority for saying, that it had also another name, and was the *Vindonum*, or *Vindomium* of Antoninus. (1) The critic will find, upon a second review, that I neither have changed, nor have had occasion to change, my opinion, on any of these heads.

Passing over the compliment, which the critic pays me upon my conjecture concerning a ceremony lately practised on the continent, in memory of the destruction of the horrid rites of Druidism, (2) I proceed to his censure of another conjecture of mine; namely, that the manufacture of our Winchester loom, in the time of the Romans, was woollen, rather than linen. As all that he or I, or Camden, or Pancirellus himself, can say on the subject, is merely conjectural, I may be allowed to retain the opinion I have laid down in my History, (3) upon the grounds there mentioned. Nevertheless, as it is a mere possibility, that the British workmen were as famous for their broad cloths at the period in question as they are now, I have here qualified the sentence in my first edition, intimating the probability of the Roman emperors wearing the manufacture of our city. (4)

The Reviewer next enters upon a long argument, concerning the existence of king Lucius. Though he himself doubts of it, yet he admits, there is a great weight of authority for it. The truth is, all our original writers, British, as well as Saxon and Norman, (5) together with the records of our

(1) Gale, Camden, Stukely.

(2) Vol. 1, p. 8.

(3) Vol. 1, p. 27.

(4) Vol. 1, p. 28.

(5) Gildas, Nennius, Bede, Asserius, Malmsbury, *et deinceps*. N. B. There is no improbability in the account of Nennius, as the British Critic supposes. If Lucius was a king, he must be supposed to have had governors, *Reguli*, under him.

ancient abbeys, the martyrologies and histories of foreign countries, and existing MSS. (1) of the most ancient date, (to say nothing of coins) prove that the first Christian *King* reigned in our island, as the first Christian *Emperor* was afterwards born in it.

To these authorities the British Critic makes no sort of reply; he barely disputes the genuineness of certain coins of king Lucius, which, as I have said before, have been received by an Usher, a Camden, and a Gibson, (2) and are "more or less depended upon by all." (3) The foundation upon which he, and Whitaker, ground this opinion, is, a certain short sentence in Gildas, which, to my deliberate judgment, signifies nothing more than that, upon the suppression of Boadicea's rebellion, the Romans reduced Britain into a state of servitude, and required all their former money to be recoined with the impression of the reigning Roman emperor. But certainly it is not natural to suppose, that, a Marcus Aurelius would treat his British subjects with the same jealous severity, when they were completely subdued and Romanized, with which a Nero treated them, 120 years before, upon the suppression of an exterminating rebellion. If that philosophic emperor permitted certain tributary kings to reign under him, as we have positive proofs he did, (4) we may presume he would indulge them with the petty privilege of coining.

The Reviewer gives me credit for discovering the barrow of king Quilchelm, upon Hsley downs (5) which has escaped the notice of Camden and Gibson. But, perhaps, there is as much merit in the light which this History throws upon the Anton of Tacitus; (6) the Ytene, the Cerdicesora, (7) the Notanleag, (8) and the Ethandune, (9) of the Saxon writers; concerning all which places our topographers have given into as strange errors, as in the discovery which he praises.

(1) See a reference to two of these, in the learned Butler's *Saints' Lives*, Dec. 3, one of which is as old as the reign of Justinian.

(2) The British Critic denies that one of these coins is to be met with in Gibson's Camden, though he owns it is in Stukeley. If he will call for my copy of this work, which is at St. Peter's House, Winchester, I assure him he will find it there.

(3) See Whitaker, above.

(4) See Julius Capitolinus, quoted vol. 1, p. 38.

(5) Vol. 1, p. 91. (6) Ibid. p. 21. (7) Ibid. p. 66. (8) Ibid. p. 68. (9) Ibid. p. 121.

The chief praise, however, which the British Critic bestows upon me, is that of having detected and exposed the barefaced perversion of history, which not only Hume, but also Rapin, Guthrie, and Carte, have been guilty of in relating the well-known transaction between young king Edwy and St. Dunstan; (1) whilst they not only tell deliberate falshoods about it, but also undertake to confirm them by bold appeals to the original writers, namely, to a Malmesbury, a Wallingford, an Osbern, a Westminster, &c. This learned Reviewer is at the pains of comparing the ancient authorities to which these modern historians, equally with myself, appeal; and he acknowledges, without restriction, that he has verified in the former all that I have alleged against the latter. The British Critic concludes his article in the following manner: "Hume was seduced by 'the spirit of irreligion,' which Mr. M. has indiscriminately applied to all; and Carte, by an aversion to Dunstan, as the grand patron of Monckery in this island. But whatever were the motives to any of them, or all of them, they have evidently been seduced from the truth, have falsified grossly the real history of this transaction, and have misled numbers into their falsified opinions concerning it. We, in particular, acknowledge ourselves to have been long seduced into these opinions, not by the man, but by the master, even by Carte, to whom we consider Hume as the mere train-bearer, in all our ancient history. We honestly confess we retained these opinions till Mr. M.'s powerful detection of their falshood convinced us of our mistake: and now, on examining the original authors, for the first time, we stand amazed to think how any man of common sense, with those authors before him, reading the circumstances there related of Edwy and the two women, could ever have allowed himself to suppose one of them his wife, and the connection merely matrimonial. History was inverted and virtue outraged by the supposition."

The article relative to the History of Winchester, which occurs in the British Critic for March 1800, is almost entirely made up of controversial Theology, growing out of the dispute between Henry I and archbishop St. Anselm, concerning Investitures *per Baculum et Annulum*. (2) This he pursues

(1) Hist. vol. 1, p. 152.

(2) Hist. vol. 1, p. 203.

through almost nine pages, “in the candid hope,” as he says with respect to me, “of correcting the author’s prejudices, and rectifying his opinions.” In answer, however, to this very liberal and learned writer’s dissertation, I must say, in general, that it would be strange and disgraceful, were there a necessity of my being instructed in the tenets of *my own religion*, by a gentleman of a different communion: For it must ever be remembered, that the question between Henry I and archbishop Anselm, proceeded upon, and, in equity, must be judged *upon Catholic grounds*, as is the case also with the other dispute between Henry II and archbishop St. Thomas.

To follow my respectable opponent through all the labyrinth in which he has lost himself, would be a needless, as well as an endless, trouble. It is sufficient for me to point out the general mistake which pervades his whole system. He has no idea of any thing else being necessary to constitute a canonical and completely authorised Bishop of any Diocese, than *nomination*, (1) which he supposes belongs to the King, in quality of lay patron; and *consecration*, which he thinks any other consecrated bishop may lawfully perform with respect to a prelate duly nominated: whereas, in the Catholic system, besides these two things, there is essentially required a third thing, called *institution, appointment, mission, or confirmation*, To Κρυος. By mere *consecration*, the prelate receives the *bare power* of conferring the sacraments of confirmation and holy orders; but does not receive the *authority* to confer even these; much less the authority requisite for excommunicating, absolving, &c. called the *power of the keys*: because, in fact, from mere consecration he derives no jurisdiction or spiritual commission whatsoever with respect to any *particular* place or person. This jurisdiction can only be obtained by canonical institution or appointment, which, in the case of a prelate, may be conferred as well *before*, as *in* or *after* the ceremony of consecration. The point, however, principally to be considered is, that the authority in question

(1) *Presentation, Postulation, Election*, by whatever name it is called, is, after all, nothing more, in the eyes of the Church, than a public testimony borne to the merits of the candidate. In our country, where no Concordate ever took place, the Sovereign had no other rights in this business, than those of granting to the Chapter a Congé d’Elire, and of recommending a person for their choice.

can never be derived from any other source than from the *Church*. Hence, whatever power the sovereign may have in presenting a bishop, he can no more give him institution, or confer spiritual authority upon him, than he can consecrate him. Of course, it was an evident usurpation in the Sovereigns of Germany and England, about the 12th century, when they invested their prelates with their respective temporalities, to insist upon performing this through the received and consecrated emblems of *spiritual jurisdiction and orthodox faith*, the *crozier*, and the *ring*. (1) It was accordingly resisted by St. Anselm, bishop Giffard, and by other conscientious bishops in general.

I must make as short with the Critic's illustrations of his system, as I have made with the system itself. When king Edwin, therefore, built a church for Paulinus, at York, he did not make that city an episcopal see. It had been constituted such, and even a metropolitical see, by pope Gregory the Great, long before. And when king Kinegils and king Oswald gave St. Birinus a residence at Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, they barely furnished him with the temporal means of executing that spiritual commission which he had received from pope Honorius, with respect to the West Saxons and Mercians. Hence, when our second Christian king undertook, by his own authority, to make Winchester an episcopal see, separate from that of Dorchester, he was resisted, and forced to desist from his design.

The British Critic having at last got through his long theological dissertation, says, "We must now turn away from Anselm, and shew Mr. M. under that appearance of ingenuousness which he frequently assumes, and in which we shall take an honest pleasure to shew him. For this purpose we shall select his account of the two royal restorers of Popery in England, Mary and James. These are the reigns peculiarly seductive to a Popish historian; yet Mr. M. acquits himself in both with eminent fairness." The writer then cites at large that passage of the History, which proves, that if Mary unfor-

(1) If the Reviewer had looked into the Roman Pontifical, he never would have denied the meaning of these emblems. He would have seen, that when the consecrating bishop delivers the crosier to the consecrated, he says, "*Accipe baculum, pastoralis officii, ut sis in corrigendis vitiis piè sæviens, judicium sine irâ tenens.*" In giving the ring, he says, "*Accipe annulum, fidei signaculum,*" &c.

unately became a persecutor, it was not from any tenet of her religion that she became such, but from other motives, which are there assigned; (1) and, secondly, that the nation is and has been during two centuries and a half grossly imposed upon by Fox (2) and his followers, with respect to the number and cases of the sufferers in her reign. "All this," says the British Critic, speaking of this passage, "is judiciously and fairly said." He then proceeds to quote my account of James II, in which I show that whatever this prince was, in other respects, he was uniformly the friend of toleration, in regard to Protestants as well as to Catholics, (3) and that he lost his crown for publicly disavowing every kind of persecution. (4)

The review of the Second Volume of the present Work, by the British Critic, contained in his Number for April 1800, is almost one continued panegyric upon it; a great deal of which is conveyed in terms too flattering to be here repeated. He praises, amongst other things, "the accuracy of perception, nicety of discrimination, and multiplicity of observations, as just as they are various, concerning the forms and the fashions of the Gothic style; which," he says, "the present work traces out and embodies into one regular history of (ancient) architecture, from the Conquest to the Reformation." The only point on which he hesitates to agree with me (and that barely on the credit of an unseen work of the Rev. Mr. Whitaker) is my account of the rise and progress of the Pointed Arch, together with the origin of Spires; (5) being precisely that part of my Work which has been most commended by other literati, and which therefore has been published apart. (6)

The Reviewer bestows still loftier praises on the survey of the inside, than on that of the outside, of the Cathedral; as indicating "feeling, taste, and genius," in the writer of it: and he closes the whole of his strictures on the two volumes of the present Work with confessing that "they contain much

(1) Vol. I, p. 355.

(2) In his *Acts and Monuments*, the great storehouse of annual Martyrologies and of bigoted historians and preachers.

(3) Vol. I, p. 437.

(4) His Declaration of Liberty of Conscience.

(5) Vol. II, p. 161.

(6) *Essays on Gothic Architecture*, 2d edit. Taylor, High Holborn.

original information." He finds, indeed, great fault with the style of the first volume; a fault which, as far as it existed, was owing to the multiplicity of ancient books, which I was obliged to attend to at the same time that I was composing it, and which I have endeavoured to correct in the present edition. But in the second volume, in which I had principally to attend to the expression of my own conceptions, he says, "the style is vigorous, lively, and sometimes luminous;" adding, that "the knowledge" contained in the History, "is accurate, manly, and dignified," and that, "with all (his) exceptions to some parts of the Work, it is a very valuable addition to the stock of historical knowledge amongst us."

I have elsewhere observed, that "on one particular occasion Catholics are considered as fair game to be assailed by every kind of weapon; and that what is false on every other day in the year, is held by many controvertists to be true on the *fifth of November*." (1) Accordingly, one of these Pulpit Critics, who has preached and published a Sermon, of which I have the honour of making the subject, has not blushed to assert concerning the present Work, that, "Notwithstanding the specious show of notes and quotations, there is scarcely a single fact advanced, that is not unfairly stated, unsupported, or untrue." (2) The reader will judge for himself of the nature of this charge, from the several accounts of well-known and respectable writers and reviewers, quoted above. For my part, I disdain to reply to such an accusation, or to such a preacher. Had he said any thing against my writings which bore the semblance of truth, I should have consoled myself under it, with the very handsome eulogium paid to the History of Winchester, by the intelligent and spirited Mr. PRATT, in the first volume of his *HARVEST HOME*.

(1) Letters to a Preb. p. 333. 2d edit.

(2) A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, Nov. 5, 1805, by R. Churton, M. A. &c.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX, No. 1.

Copy of the City Tables, suspended in the Public Rooms at St. John's House, with the Correction of their principal Errors. (1)

TABLE I.

CAERGUENT, by the Brittaines; **VENTA BELGARU**, (2) by the Romans; **VINZANIOZER**, (3) by the Saxons; **WINTONIA**, by the Latine Historians; **WINCHESTER**, by the Normans.

1st. This city was first built by **Ludor Rouse Hudibras**, (4) the son of **Liel**, (5) the son of **Brute Greenchild**, (6) the second (7) son of **Elbranke**, the great grand child (8) of the first **Brute**, 892 years before the birth of Christ, in the age of the world 2295; 99 years before the first building of Rome. (9)

2d. It was first invironed with stone walls by **Mulvutius** (10) **Dunwallo**, Anno Mundi 3528.

3d. It was first trenched round and fortified with battlements by **Guiderius**, A. D. 179. (11)

(1) These corrections have recently been adopted by the Magistrates. The Tables, however, are given in their original state, and this is often referred to in the present work. The principal errors alone are here reformed; and the authority of Geoffry of Monmouth is not here rejected, but only the facts and chronology are made conformable to his account.

(2) Read *Belgarum*.

(3) Read *Wintanceaster*. See Chron. Sax. passim. Bede. Camden, Britannia, &c.

(4) Read *Rudhudibrass*. See Mat. West. Rad. Dicet.

(5) Read *Leyl*. Ibid.

(6) Read *Greenschild*. "Brutus cognomento *Viride Scutum*. Mat. West. Rad. Dicet.

(7) Dele *The second*.

(8) Read *who was son in the fourth degree*. According to Geoffry and his followers, this is the series of the first British kings:—**Brutus I**, **Loctrinus**, **Maddan**, **Mempriti**, **Ebranc**, **Leyr** or **Leyl**, **Rudhudibrass**, **Bladud**, &c.

(9) It seems plain from Matthew of Westminster, who may be considered as the chronologer and reformer of Geoffry of Monmouth, that Caergwent was built about the same time with the temple of Solomon, which event is now placed in the year of the world 3000, as that of the birth of Christ is in 4004, viz. 750 years after the foundation of Rome. According to this computation, we must reform the chronology of the tables in the following manner:—1004 years before the birth of Christ, in the year of the world 3000, and 254 years before the building of Rome. It is to be understood that we are here endeavouring to rectify the tables, so as to make them consistent in themselves; for in the outset of our history we have rejected the whole of this account as spurious.

(10) Read *Mulmutius*.

(11) Read A. D. 44. Guiderius was contemporary with the emperor Claudius.

- 4th. It was defaced by fire by Dorus the Dane in the time of Constance, A. D. 315. (1)
 5th. It was nigh consumed with fire by Hengist, Anno 462.
 6th. It was rebuilt and again refortified by Aurelius Ambrose, Anno 470.
 7th. It was enlarged and a strong and stateiy castle adjoyning to it by king Arthur, Anno Dni. 523. (2)
 8th. It was made a bishop's see by king Rinigellus, (3) Anno Domine 636. (4)
 9th. The Guild of Merchants here tempore King Ethelwald, Anno 96, (5) first confederate.
 10th. The Hock Tide Merriments began here tempore king Etheldredi, Anno 979, (6) but being let fall were here first revived in Edward the Confessor's time, Anno 1043. (7)
 11th. Doomsday Book was collected and made here, Anno 1076. (8)

TABLE II.

- 12th. The Great Seal of England and the office of keeping thereof first agreed upon made and used in this city, Anno 1044.
 13th. The first tryal of the nobility in criminal causes per pares was here, Anno 1077. (9)
 14th. It was burnt and the guild hall with most of the records, Anno 1112.
 15th. The first charter under the great seal of England was granted unto the citizens free of the guild of merchants of Winchester to be toll and custome free through all the king's dominions by H. the first, Anno 1113. (10)
 16th. King John, Anno 1210, (11) granted the mint and exchange of money to be kept in this city, with many other privileges.
 17th. The king incorporates this city by the name of the Mayor and Burgesses, and for 200 marks rent granted Jura Regalia in fee farm for ever.
 18th. The liberty to have and use a Common Seal, granted them by Henry the 2d, (12) Anno 1242.
 19th. It gave title of Earle of Winchester to Saer de Rumsey (13) Anno 8°. Rin. (14) Johis.

(1) *Read by Porrus, a Saxon, in the time of Constans, who of a monk was made emperor in the year 445.* This account rests on the authority of Trussel's MSS.

(2) The whole of this account is erroneous, as we have proved, vol. i, p. 73, &c.

(3) *Read Kinegilsus.*

(4) It is not accurate that Kinegils made this city a bishop's see immediately upon his conversion, nor was it in his power, strictly speaking, to make it a bishopric at all. See vol. i, p. 92, 97.

(5) *Read 856.*

(6) *Read 1002.*

(7) *Read 1042.* The nation shook off the Danish yoke at the death of Hardicanute, in 1041. Chron. Sax.

(8) *Read 1083.* See Mat. West. Rudb.

(9) *Read 1076.* Chron. Sax. &c.

(10) *Read 1102.* See vol. i, p. 201.

(11) *Read 1208.* "In the nyenth year of his reign." Trussel's MSS.

(12) *Read Henry III.* Henry II, at this date, had been dead above half a century.

(13) *Read Saer de Quincey.*

(14) *Read Anno 13° Regni.*

20th. It gave the first precedent of punishment of one that wounded another in the presence of the Judge of Assize. Mag. Ed. 3d.

21st. It gave title of Marquis of Winchester to Wm. Lord Paulet, Earle of Wilts, Anno 5^o E. 6th and hath given place of Birth, Education, Baptism, Marriage, Micholgemots, Gemots, Synods, National and Provincial, and Sepulchre, to more Kings, Queens, Princes, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Bishops, and Mitred Prelates, before the year of our Lord 1239, than all the then citys of England together could do.

No. II.

The (SUPPOSED) Charter of Henry I. (1)

Henricus rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ, comes Andalusie, archiepiscopis, abbatibus, comitibus, vicecomitibus, et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis et Ministris totius Angliæ et omnium portuum maris salutem. Præcipio quod cives mei Winton, de gilda mercatorum, cum omnibus rebus suis sint quieti de omni thelonio, passagio, et consuetudine. Et nullus super hoc eos disturbet, neque injuriam neque contumeliam eis faciat super foris facturam meam, his testibus. Tho. Cantuarien. Rich. London. Gil. Winton, &c.

No. III.

Charter of King Richard I to the City of Winchester. (2)

Richardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ, &c. archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, vicecomitibus, ministris, et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis totius terræ suæ, salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse civibus nostris Wintoniæ de gilda mercatoria, quod nullus eorum placitet extra muros civitatis Wintoniæ, de ullo placito præter placita de tenuris, exterioribus exceptis monetariis et ministris nostris. Concessimus etiam eis quod nullus eorum faciat duellum et quod de placitis ad coronam nostram pertinentibus, se possint disrationare secundum antiquam consuetudinem civitatis. Hæc etiam eis concessimus quod omnes cives Wintoniæ de gilda mercatoria, sint quieti de Theloneo et Lestagio & Pontagio in feria & extra et per portus maris, omnium terrarum nostrarum citra mare & ultra & quod nullus de misericordiæ pecunia judicetur nisi secundum antiquam legem civitatis, quam habuerunt tempore antecessorum nostrorum; & quod terras & tenuras suas, and vadimonia & debita omnia juste habeant quicunq; eis debeat; & de terris suis & tenuris, quæ infra urbem sunt, rectum eis teneatur secundum consuetudinem civitatis et de omnibus debitis suis, quæ accommodata fuerint apud Wintoniam, & de vadimoniis ibidem factis placita apud Wintoniam teneantur, & si quis in tota terra nostra Thelonenum vel consuetudinem ab hominibus Wintoniæ de gilda mercatoria, ceperit, postquam ipse a recto defecerit, Vicecomes de Southampton, vel præpositus Wintoniæ Hannium inde apud Wintoniam capiat.

(1) We have thought it best to insert this charter exactly as it stands in Trussel's MSS. leaving the learned reader to form his own opinion concerning it. In the mean time we have said, vol. 1, p. 201, that for our own part we cannot receive it as a charter of Henry I, on account of the title there ascribed to him, and the names of the attesting bishops, which do not agree with the period in question. However, as it is certain that Trussel, who congratulates himself on the discovery of this charter amongst the city archives, was not a man capable of forging it, we may admit it to have been granted by Henry II, in the 9th year of his reign, when there actually were a Thomas of Canterbury and a Richard of London, provided we suppose that this author, who was a very indifferent critic, may have written *Andalusie* for *Andegaviæ*, and *Gil. Wint.* for *Hen. Wint.*

(2) Extant in Bohun's Collection of Debates, &c.

Insuper etiam ad emendandum civitatem eis concessimus quod omnes sint quieti & de Jeresgiene & de Scotteshale, ita quod si vicecomes noster vel aliquis alius ballivus Scotthale faciat. Has prædictas consuetudines eis concedimus & omnes, libertates & liberas consuetudines quas habuerunt temporibus antecessorum nostrorum quando meliores vel liberiores habuerunt, et si aliquæ consuetudines injuste levatæ fuerunt in guerra cassatæ sint. Quicumque petierint civitatem Wintoniæ cum mercatu suo de quocunque loco sint sive extranei sive alii veniant morentur & recedant, in salva pace nostra, reddendo rectas consuetudines, et nemo eos disturbet super hanc cartam nostram. Quare volumus et firmiter præcipimus, quod ipsi et hæredes eorum hæc omnia prædicta hæreditaria habeant, & teneant de nobis, & hæredibus nostris. Testibus Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo. R. Bathoniensi. H. Conventrensi episcopi. S. Bertram. De Verduin Johanne Marescallo. W. Marescallo. Data per manum Johannis de Alencon, archidaconi Lexoviæ vicecancellarii nostri apud Nunancurt decimo quarto die martii, anno primo regni nostri.

No. IV.

Charter of King John to the City of Winchester, granted in the Ninth Year of his Reign. (1).

Johes, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ, dux Normandiæ et Aquitan. comes Andegav: archiepiscopis &c. salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse et hac præsentī charta mea confirmasse civibus nostris Winton et hæredibus eorum, quod monetarium nostrum et excambium nostrum moneatæ in perpetuum sint in civitate nostra Winton, cum omnibus liberatatis ad monetarium nostrum et excambium monetæ nostræ &c. pertinentibus. Et quod habeant sedem duorum molendinorum infra eandem civitatem apud Coytbury ad emendationem ejusdem civitatis. Concessimus etiam eisdem civibus nostris et hæredibus suis in perpetuum quod nullus eorum per aliquem distringetur extra eandem civitatem, ad reddendum alicui aliquod debitum, unde non sit capitalis debitor aut plegius. Et prætera concessimus, et charta nostra confirmamus eisdem civibus nostris et hæredibus eorum, quod nullus eorum, qui fuerit de gilda mercatorum, placitetur extra muros ejusdem civitatis, de ullo placito, præter placita de terminis exterioribus, exceptis monetariis et ministris nostris. Concessimus etiam quod nullus eorum faciat duellum. Et quod de placito ad coronam nostram pertinentibus disrationare possint, secundum antiquam consuetudinem ejusdem civitatis. Et quod omnes cives ejusdem civitatis et hæredes eorum, de gilda mercatoria, quieti sint de thelonia, lastagio, pontagio, et passagio, tam infra feriam quam extra, et per omnes portus maris, omnium terrarum nostrarum, tam citra mare quam ultra. Et quod nullus de misericordiæ pecunia ad judicetur, nisi secundum antiquam legem ejusdem civitatis, quam habuerunt temporibus antecessorum nostrorum. Et quod terras suas et vadimonia et omnia debita sua juste habeant quicumque ea debeat. Et de terris et rentis suis quæ ultra urbem sunt rectum eis teneatur, secundum consuetudinem ejusdem civitatis. Et quod de omnibus debitis suis et vadimoniis suis factis placita apud Wintoniam teneantur. Si quis autem, in tota terra nostra, thelonium vel consuetudinem ab hominibus Wintoniæ de gilda mercatoria ceperit, postquam ipse de recto defecerit vicecomes Suthan. et præpositus Winton nannium inde apud Winton capiant.

No. V.

King John's Charter, allowing certain Duties to be collected on the River Itchin, by the Bishop of Winchester. (2)

Johes Dei gratia Angliæ, &c. archiepiscopis, &c. salutem. Sciatis nos &c. concessisse venerabili patri nostro Galfrido Winton et episcopo successoribus suis, quod possint capere

(1) From Trussell's MSS.

(2) From Trussell's MSS.

apud civitatem Winton, per ballivos suos subscriptas consuetudines de rehus subscriptis venientibus Winton de mare vel descendantibus ad mare per aquam de Itchyn, per trancheam quam dictus episcopus fieri fecit : videlicet de coriis siccis, de lasto duos denarios &c.

No. VI.

The Charter of Queen Elizabeth to the City of Winchester.

Know all men by these presents, that whereas the city of Winchester being an ancient city, and having for times out of mind been governed by a mayor, six aldermen, two bailiffs, two coroners, two constables, and other public officers; and whereas there have been as anciently divers lands, liberties, jurisdictions, and privileges granted to the said citizens; and whereas the said citizens have peaceably enjoyed divers franchises, freedoms, privileges, customs, immunities, and exemptions, whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary; and in consideration of our city of Winchester having been most famous for the celebration of the nativities, coronations, sepulchres, and for the preservation of other famous monuments of our progenitors, and now is fallen into great ruin, decay, and poverty, and also at the humble petition of our faithful and well-beloved counsellor, Sir Thomas Walsingham, Knt. our principal secretary, and high-steward of our said city, we ordain, constitute, grant, and declare, that our said city of Winchester shall be and remain for ever hereafter, a free city of itself, and that the citizens and inhabitants thereof, from henceforth and for ever, shall be one body politic, incorporate by the name of mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the city of Winchester, by which name they shall remain in perpetual succession, with full power to receive and hold lands, tenements, liberties, privileges, &c. and that they, the said mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty, may for ever have a common seal, to serve for the doing and executing their demises, grants, &c. which seal the said mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty, and their successors, shall and may at their own pleasure from time to time break, change, or new make, as to them shall seem most expedient. And further, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we grant that from henceforth and for ever, there shall and may be in our city of Winchester aforesaid, one mayor, one recorder, six aldermen, one deputy recorder or town-clerk, two bailiffs, two coroners, and two constables, chosen of the elder and principal and more honest sort of inhabitants and citizens of the city; and that there shall and may be twenty-four persons of the said city, of the better, discreeter, and more honest sort, assisting or aiding to the mayor, who shall be called the Four and Twenty Men; and that every mayor of the said city, shall immediately after his election take a corporal oath in the guildhall of the said city, before the preceding mayor, and recorder, or his deputy; and that every recorder, alderman, bailiff, and every other of the corporation, shall, at the time of entering into their respective offices, take the same corporal oath in the guildhall aforesaid. And we hereby empower the said mayor, recorder, aldermen, bailiffs, and commonalty, to depose, remove, or degrade any of their brethren, so often as they shall misbehave, or betray the trust reposed in them; and in the place of him or them so removed or deposed, put out or deceased, the mayor, aldermen, commonalty, and assistants for the time being, shall and may, so often as need shall be, choose, make, and create one or more other or others of the honest and circumspect citizens of the said city, in the place or stead of him or them so departed or removed. And further, we do, for us, our heirs and successors, grant unto the said mayor and commonalty of the city of Winchester, and their successors, that from henceforth and for ever the mayor, recorder, and aldermen of the said city, shall and may be justices of us, our heirs and successors, for the preserving of the peace, and to hear and determine within the city aforesaid, and liberties of the same, as well in the presence of us, our heirs and successors, as in our absence, all manner of murders, felonies, misprisions, riots, routs, oppressions, extortions, forestalling, regrating, trespasses, and all other things whatsoever from time to time arising in the said city, which to the office of justice of the peace do or shall belong. And that the justices of the peace for the county of Southampton, shall not hereafter in any wise intermeddle within the said city, or liberties thereof, nor shall have or

exercise any jurisdiction or authority concerning any causes, matters, or things whatsoever, arising or appertaining to the said city. And that the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said city shall have power to receive all fines, issues, redemptions, and amerciaments before the said justices of the peace, within the said city, assessed, forfeited, or arising therein; and that it shall and may be lawful for the said mayor and commonalty to levy all such fines, issues, redemptions, &c. assessed, or to be assessed by the chamberlain of the said city, and applied to the use of the said mayor and commonalty, who have hereby full authority to put themselves into the present possession of the same, without any account or other thing to us, our heirs and successors to be yielded, paid, or done for the same. And further we will, and by these presents confirm, that every mayor of the city of Winchester for the time being from henceforth, and for ever, shall be Escheator for us, our heirs and successors, within the said city and precincts thereof; and that he the said mayor have full power and authority to do and perform all singular things within the city, which to the office of Escheator shall or do belong. And further, the said mayor and commonalty shall have full authority to hold for us, our heirs and successors, and in our name, a court of Record, in the guildhall aforesaid, every Wednesday and Friday in every week, of all manner of pleas, complaints, and actions, covenants, contracts, &c. &c. arising or happening within the city aforesaid, and the same pleas, and complaints, and grievances, to hear and determine, and give judgment therein; and that all juries, pannels, inquisitions, attachments, &c. &c. touching or concerning the causes aforesaid, may be done and executed by the sergeants at mace, deputed and assigned by the mayor of the said city, according to the rule of law, and as heretofore in the said city hath been in like cases used; and further, that the said mayor and commonalty shall and may have to the use and behoof of the city, all manners of fines, amerciaments, and profits, of or in the said court. And moreover, we have granted to the said mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty, full power and authority from henceforth and for ever, to hold in guildhall of the said city, one court, called the Boroughmote court, to be kept twice in the year, in manner and form as hath been heretofore accustomed. Also Leet and Law-days, and Views of Frankpledge, of all and singular the inhabitants of the said city, to be kept every year all the days accustomed. And further, of our abundant grace, we will and grant unto the said mayor and commonalty, and their successors, that they shall for ever have and hold, and shall be enabled to hold two markets every week, on Wednesday and Saturday; and three fairs annually, one to be holden on the feast-day of St. Edward, and on the eve and morrow of the same day; another on Monday and Tuesday in the first week of Lent; and a third, on the feast-day of St. Swithin, and on the eve and morrow of the same; together with a court of Pyepowder, to be there held during the time of the said fairs; and also with piccage, stallage, fines, amerciaments, and all other profits arising from the said markets, fairs, and courts of pyepowder. And moreover we have hereby granted to the said mayor and commonalty, and their successors for ever, the goods, chattels, and effects of all felons, fugitives, and persons outlawed, tenants and resiants, within the said city; and that it shall and may be lawful for them and their officers, without the let of us, our heirs, sheriffs, or others our bailiffs, to put themselves in seizure of the said chattels, and the same to receive for the use of the said mayor, and their successors. And for the better support of the said city, we grant unto the said mayor and commonalty, all fines for tresspasses, and for all other offences whatsoever. And also all fines for licence to compound, and all amerciaments, redemptions, issues, and forfeitures, a year and a day waste and spoil, and all things which to us, our heirs and successors, doth belong, of and concerning such year, day, and waste, and tresspasses, without the let of us, our heirs and successors, or any of our justices, sheriffs, or other officers whatsoever. And also we will and grant unto the mayor and commonalty aforesaid, that from henceforth they shall and may have return of all writs and precepts of us, our heirs and successors, and the executing of the same, and the summoning of the exchequer of us and our heirs within the said city, so as no sheriff, or others, our bailiffs or ministers, shall at any time enter into the city or liberties aforesaid, to execute the same writs and summonses. And

further we will and grant unto the said mayor and commonalty, that they, and all the inhabitants of the city of Winchester aforesaid, shall from henceforth be acquitted and discharged from the suit of the county and hundred courts, to the sheriffs belonging; and that they from henceforth shall be acquitted from all tolls, lstage, passage, pontage, piccage, stallage, murrage, and charge, and such like duties and other customs whatsoever throughout our realm of England, as the citizens and inhabitants within the said city before this time hath been accustomed to be acquitted and discharged from. And we have moreover granted, that none of them, nor any inhabitant or resiant within the said city, or the liberties or precincts thereof, shall be put and impannelled with foreigners, or foreigners with them, in any assizes, juries, or inquisitions happening within the said city; but such assizes, juries, or inquisitions, shall be made and taken only of the citizens themselves. And moreover we have granted and ordained, for us, our heirs and successors, that every mayor of the city of Winchester for the time being, shall and may be our clerk of the market within the said city, with full authority to do and execute all such things as to the office of clerk of the market doth appertain, without any molestation from us, our heirs and successors, or any of our ministers or officers whatsoever. And further by these presents we grant unto the said mayor and commonalty, and their successors for ever, that they shall and may be enabled to make and have within the city and liberties aforesaid, assizes of bread, wine, and other victuals, and all weights and measures whatsoever. And that they, for the better keeping the assizes aforesaid within the said city, shall and are hereby empowered to inflict and give such punishments to bakers and others breaking the said assize, as to them shall seem fitting, viz. to draw such offenders upon hurdles through the streets, or to chastise them in any other manner, as is now used by the citizens of our city of London. We also grant unto the said mayor and commonalty, that our steward and marshal, and clerk of the market of us and our heirs, shall not from henceforth sit within the city, nor liberties thereof, nor exercise any authority; nor shall draw any of the inhabitants into any cause or suit without the city or liberties thereof, for any thing happening within the city, by any means whatsoever. And further of our more abundant grace, we will and grant unto the said mayor and commonalty, that from henceforth they shall and for ever may have full power and authority to take any recognizance of debts, and to make execution thereupon, according to the force of statute merchants of Acton Burnell, lately made; and that for ever hereafter there shall be a clerk within the said city, named and appointed by the mayor and commonalty, to serve for such recognizances and statutes, according to the said act; and that they have full power to take and record acknowledgments of charters, and all other writings concerning lands, tenements, rents, and hereditaments whatsoever within the said city, or suburbs thereof. And further we will and by these presents grant, for us, our heirs, and successors, unto the said mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty, and their successors for ever, that they shall and may from time to time ordain, create, and establish a society, guild or fraternity of one master and wardens of every art, mystery, and occupation used or occupied, or hereafter shall be used or occupied within the said city, and the suburbs thereof; and that they, with the assistance of the wardens of the said arts and mysteries, may make, constitute, ordain, and establish laws, constitutions, and ordinances for the public utility and profit, and for the better rule and regiment of our city of Winchester, and of the mysteries of the citizens and inhabitants of the same. And the said mayor and commonalty, so often as they shall make, ordain, or establish such laws, constitutions, &c. may limit and appoint such like pains, punishments, and penalties, as shall seem to them to be requisite and necessary for observing of the said laws and constitutions, all which punishments may be inflicted and levied without the leave of us, our heirs and successors, so as the same be not contrary or repugnant to the laws of our realm of England. And moreover we ordain, that as well the mayor, recorder, aldermen, bailiffs, as all and singular coroners, constables, chamberlains, and all other officers of the same city, shall always hereafter be chosen at the times, and in the like manner and form as they have been formerly chosen; so that if any coroner or other officer should die within the year, the commonalty for the time being

shall, within twenty days after the death or displacing of any such officers, choose one or more of the well-disposed citizens of the said city, in the place of him or them so departed or removed. And further know ye, that in consideration that the mayor and commonalty of the said city of Winchester, and their successors, may be the better able to sustain the charges of the said city, and for the relief of the poor within the said city, we, of our own abundant grace, have granted and gave license unto the said mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty, as also to every citizen and inhabitant of the same city, that they and every of them shall and may hereafter freely use the faculty of and mysteries of of making broad-cloths and kerseys, according to the measure, length, and weight as by our laws and statutes is ordained. And further, of our said grace, and for the consideration aforesaid, we have granted and licensed unto all our subjects and liege people, and to all bodies politic and corporate, that they or any of them may be enabled to give, grant, or sell, alien, or devise any messuages, lands, rents, reversions, or any other possessions whatsoever, within the city of Winchester, and suburbs of the same, unto the mayor and commonalty thereof and their successors for ever. And also unto the said mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty, we grant special license by these presents, that they shall be hereafter enabled freely and lawfully to have, receive, and acquire for ever such messuages, lands, and tenements, rents, &c. of any of our subjects and liege people, and of any body politic or town corporate whatsoever, and that without any writ *ad quod damnum*, or prosecution from us, our heirs and successors. And we also give license unto all and every of our liege subjects to sell, and to the mayor and commonalty of our said city to purchase, unto them and their successors, any messuages, lands, rents, reversions, &c. of any of our subjects in the said city, county, or realm of England, without any writ or prosecution of us, our heirs and successors. And further of our own more ample grace we will and grant, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, ratify, confirm, and appoint unto the said mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of our said city, and their successors for ever, all and singular the customs, liberties, privileges, franchises, immunities, exemptions, freedoms, and jurisdictions, to them and their predecessors heretofore granted by us, or any of our progenitors. And also all and singular customs, liberties, privileges, franchises, immunities, freedoms, exemptions, and jurisdictions, which the citizens, or mayor, bailiffs, or commonalty of the said city, or any or either of them, by any name or names, or by any incorporation, or by pretence of any incorporation whatsoever, they have had, held, or enjoyed, or ought to have, hold, or enjoy, by reason or pretence of any charter, grant, or letters patents, by us, or by Philip and Mary, late king and queen of England, or by any other of our noble progenitors, kings of this our realm of England, heretofore in any wise made, granted, or confirmed; or any other lawful ways, customs, prescriptions, or titles heretofore used, had, or accustomed, and in as ample manner and form, as if the same were in the premises especially and particularly specified and expressed; any act, statute, ordinance, or restraint to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And we further give, grant, and confirm unto the said mayor and commonalty all and singular messuages, cottages, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, houses, edifices, buildings, shops, cellars, sollars, chambers, barns, stables, &c. &c. &c. and other hereditaments, with the appurtenances, within the city of Winchester and Soken, in the county of Southampton, which were heretofore granted unto the said mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty, to hold of us, our heirs and successors, for ever. And know ye, that whereas there is a certain hospital, with divers lands and tenements to the same pertaining and belonging, from time whereof no memory of man is to the contrary, founded in pure and perpetual alms, commonly called the hospital of St. John the Baptist, wherein many poor people are relieved and provided for, as well in victuals as apparel, also with other necessities, which hospital, with the lands and tenements thereunto belonging, always was and yet is in the government or custody of the said mayor and commonalty; and whereas also, for the better relief and sustenance of the poor and feeble persons living in the said hospital, divers lands and tenements have been granted to the use of the said hospital, as well by one Richard Lamb as by others, the mayor and commonalty by sundry and special names, of which many debates and ambi-

guities have arisen, and do daily arise, because the name of the said hospital is somewhat obscure and uncertain, we, willing that all doubts, strifes, and ambiguities should cease, and that the name of the said hospital hereafter may be certain, do found, establish, and ordain, the said hospital of one keeper of lay brothers and sisters, and that the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said city of Winchester, and their successors, shall and may be keepers of the said hospital, and that the said mayor and commonalty shall from henceforth be founders, called and incorporated by the same name, to be keepers of the hospital of St. John the Baptist of Winchester, and shall be so deemed and accounted in deed, in truth, and in law. And that they and their successors, by the said name of mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the city of Winchester, keepers of the hospital of St. John the Baptist, shall have perpetual succession, and be persons in law able and capable to sue and to be sued, to answer and to be answered, in all manner of pleas and complaints real and personal whatever, and that they and their successors shall have a common seal of the said hospital for leases, grants, and other contracts of the said hospital. And moreover, of our special grace and favour, we grant, confirm, and appropriate unto the said mayor and commonalty, all manors, messuages, tenements, woods, &c. &c. within the kingdom of England, which were heretofore given or granted in any wise for the relief and support of the said hospital; the mayor and commonalty allowing to every brother and sister of the said hospital such alms, relief, and allowance, as hath in times past been used to be given. And also we will, for our heirs and successors, and do grant to the said brothers and sisters, and all other ministers and officers of the said hospital, that they shall be chosen, constituted, and governed by the mayor and commonalty aforesaid. And moreover we grant to the said mayor and commonalty, that this our present charter shall and may be in all and singular matters of the same force and effect, as it should be if all things before mentioned had been more particularly specified and expressed, and that it shall it be understood and adjudged for and on the behalves of the said mayor and commonalty and their successors, against us, our heirs and successors, as the same shall best be understood, notwithstanding any default herein whatsoever. And also of our more abundant grace, we have pardoned, released, and quit claimed all manner of actions, and suits whatsoever, and all other abuses, forfeitures, usurpations, &c. &c. committed or done before the last day of June last, by the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the said city; and that they shall and be thereof acquitted and discharged against us, our heirs and successors, being willing that they or any of them be not hindered or molested, or in any sort vexed by us, or our justices, sheriffs, or officers whatsoever. Provided always, that by this our present grant, the reverend father in God Thomas lord bishop of Winchester, or his successors bishops of Winchester, nor the cathedral church, nor any tenement, officer, or minister of the said bishop of Winchester, may not be damnified, molested, or troubled, or in any sort wronged, under colour or pretence of this charter. And also we will and by these presents grant unto the said mayor and commonalty, that they shall and may have these our letters patent under our great seal of England, in due manner made and sealed, without any fine or fee great or small to us in any wise paid, yielded, or done for the same, for that express mention is not made in these presents of the true yearly value or certainty of the premises, or of any other gifts or grants heretofore made unto the said mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty, by us, or by any of our predecessors or progenitors, or any statute, act, provision, or restraint heretofore made or provided to the contrary thereof, or any other matter, cause, or thing whatsoever in any wise notwithstanding. In witness of all which we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness our-self at Westminster, the three and twentieth day of January, in the year of our Lord 1587, and in the thirtieth year of our reign.

No. VII.

A List of Churches and Chapels which existed in Winchester and its Suburbs about the Year 1300, extracted from the Litera Prioris et Conventus S. Swithuni, apud Registrum Joannis de Pontissara.

1. Capella S. Egidii. On St. Giles's hill.
2. Capella de Wylehall. The chapel of St. Martin at Wyneall.
3. Capella S. Catherinæ de Compton. The chapel on Catherine-hill.
4. S. Mariæ de Valle. Without West-gate, probably at Fullflood.
5. S. Anastatiæ extra Wynton. In the second field on the right hand of the Stock-bridge road. (1)
6. S. Jacobi, de Albo Monasterio. The catholic burying-ground, on the Rumsey road.
7. S. Fidei. In a field on the east side of the road leading to St. Cross.
8. S. Crucis Wynton.
9. S. Stephani. Near Blackbridge, at the Wharf.
10. S. Michaelis extra Kingate. The parish church of St. Michael.
11. S. Petri extra Portam Australem.
12. S. Martini de Wode-strete. In a street near the Middle-brook.
13. S. Valerici. Without West-gate, near the Obelisk.
14. S. Mariæ extra Portam Occidentalem; called, p. 189, in Fossato. The ruined chapel without West-gate.
15. S. Clementis. At the junction of St. Clement's and Southgate streets to the north.
16. S. Elphegi. In Calpe, now St. Thomas street.
17. S. Petri de Macello. The catholic chapel in St. Peter's-street.
18. S. Salvatoris. In Burden-strete.
19. S. Mauritii. The parish church of St. Maurice.
20. S. Michaelis. At the north-east end of St. Peter's-street.
21. S. Joannis de Edera. In Tanner's-strete, now the Lower-brook.
22. S. Rowaldi, alias Rombaldi, alias Ruel. Between the Middle and Lower brooks.
23. S. Bonifacii. In Golde, now Southgate street.
24. S. Mariæ in Tanner's-strete.
25. S. Nicholai extra Kingesgate.
26. S. Mariæ de Linea Tela. To the east of the city gaol, facing St. John's-house.
27. S. Petroci. In Calpe-strete, now St. Thomas church.
28. S. Pincii.
29. S. Martini juxta Murum.
30. Omnium Sanctorum. In Gold-strete, now Southgate-street.
31. S. Mariæ Magdalenæ juxta Wynton. The hospital on Magdalen-hill.
32. Domus S. Crucis extra Wynton. St. Cross hospital.

(1) The site of this ancient church and church-yard is ascertained by title deeds. In the said spot many skeletons have been dug up.

Other Churches situated in the said City or Suburbs, mentioned in the said Register, fol. 157.

33. S. Petri extra Portam Orientalem.
34. S. Joannis super Montem. The present parish church of St. John.
35. Omnium Sanctorum in Vineis. Within North-gate to the west.
36. S. Martini in Vico Parishment-strete. In Parchment-street.
37. S. Petri de Albo Pane. Within West gate to the north.
38. S. Mariæ de Kalendar. In the High-street, opposite the Pent-house.
39. S. Margaritæ. In Jewry or Jail street, just behind the Catholic chapel.
40. S. Pauli in Gar-strete.
41. All Hallows in Bukke-strete. Busket-lane.
42. S. Georgii. In the street of that name.
43. S. Michaelis in Alward-strete.
44. S. Martini in Alward-strete.
45. S. Nicholai infra Pisces. Probably in Swan-lane.
46. S. Mariæ in Cemiterio. At the carnary or bone-house to the west of the cathedral.
47. Omnium Sanctorum in Wode-strete. Near the Middle-brook.
48. S. Michaelis in Judaismo. In the Jewry, now Jail-street.
49. S. Mariæ in Gar-strete.
50. S. Swithuni supra Kingesgate. The parish church of that name.
51. S. Mariæ infra Gold-strete. Close within the South-gate.
52. S. Joannis de Hospitali. The present free-school of the boys.
53. S. Pancratii. In Wongar-strete or the Middle-brook.
54. S. Swithuni in Mulward-strete.
55. S. Petri de Colebroke-strete.
56. S. Bartholomei. The parish church in Hyde-street,
57. Capella de Wyke. Probably the church of Week, then part of the suburbs.
58. S. Laurentii. The present parish church of that name.

The Names of other Churches or Chapels, extracted from Bishop Orlton's Register, about the Year 1340.

59. S. Petri de Chushul. The present parish church of St. Peter's Cheesehill.
60. S. Gertrudis.
61. S. Martini in Vico Carnificum. In Fleshmonger's or St. Peter's street.
62. S. Laurentii de Parchement-strete.
63. B. Mariæ extra Portam Borealem.
64. S. Andreae in Gar-strete.
65. S. Nicholai de Golde-strete.

More Churches or Chapels, extracted from Wykeham's Register, about the Year 1390.

66. S. Swithuni in Vico Carnificum. St. Peter's-street.
67. S. Swithuni in Shulworth-strete. Upper-brooks.
68. S. Joannis in Porta Latinâ in Bukke-street. Busket-lane.

Churches or Chapels which had fallen to Decay in 1452, distinct from those mentioned above, and therefore probably as ancient as they.

69. S. Martin's in Mynster-strete.

70. S. Margarett's in Gar-strete.

Churches or Chapels, which are mentioned by Trussell as having fallen into Ruins, and which probably existed in the 14th Century.

71. S. Leonard's.

75. S. Botolph's.

72. S. Barnaby's.

76. S. Magdalen's.

73. S. Dunstan's.

77. S. Martin's in the High-strete.

74. S. Gregory's.

Other Churches or Chapels which are known to have co-existed with those mentioned above.

78. The Episcopal Chapel of Wolvesey Palace.

79. The Chapel of S. Stephen within the City Castle. Now the County Hall.

80. The Chapel of S. Thomas within the Keep of the same.

Also the Churches or Chapels of the following Religious Communities existed at the same Time with the above-mentioned.

81. The Ealden Mynster, or Old Monastery. The cathedral church of S. Swithun, served by Monks of the order of S. Benedict.

82. The Newan Mynster, or New Monastery. Hide-abbey. Monks of the same order.

83. The Nunna Mynster, or Monastery of Nun's. S. Mary's-abbey. Benedictines. The Abbey.

84. The College of S. Mary, founded by William of Wykeham.

85. The College of S. Elizabeth. In S. Stephen's mead, near the Wharf.

86. The Suster Spital. The hospital of S. Swithun, in the south-west part of College-street.

87. The Collegiate Chapel of the Holy Trinity. At the carnary in the High-street, where the city gaol stood.

88. The Franciscans, or Grey Friars. At the north-east end of the Middle-brook.

89. The Dominicans, or Black Friars. Within East-gate. Sir Henry Mildmay's house.

90. The Carmelites, or White Friars. In Kingsgate-street, near the College infirmary.

91. The Hermits, or Friars of S. Augustine. Without Southgate.

92. The Canons of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. (1)

(1) We learn from the *Monasticon*, vol. i, p. 185, that a house of this order existed at Winchester. It is probable however, from what is there said, that being greatly decayed, its possessions were transferred to the Trinitarian order.—N. B. In making out the above list from different registers, the utmost care has been taken, that the same church should not be mentioned twice. Hence all such have been omitted, as, by their titles or situations, are not clearly distinguished from others of the same name. This and other circumstances lead us to believe, that the number of churches and chapels was much greater than those here enumerated, especially before the destructive civil war in king Stephen's reign.

No. VII.

A List of the Mayors of Winchester, from the first Institution of that Office, in the Year of our Lord 1184, down to the present Year. (1)

Florence de Lunn	1184	Robert Attrooke	45	John de Hockley	William Jugg	John Blake	
Ditto	85	Roger de Winsflud		Robert de Sherfield	John Bett	John Bye	
Ralph de Mullings		Nich. de Devenish		John de Exton	Walter Boles	John West	30
Philip Lubin		John Attbrad		Robert de Farnfold	Hugh Crane	Wm. Sutton	
Roger de Ingepen		Ralph Clavell		Walter le Fox	10 Ralph Ford	Thomas Froyle	
Laurence de Lunn		Nich. de Sherfield	50	Ralph de Hannyton	Richard Wigg	Richard de Warmburge	
John le Crosse	90	Jeffery de Wareham		John le Devenish	Richard le Frye	Thomas Lacy	
Ditto		William Morraine		John Patchford	John att Zerd	Robert Hooper	35
Ditto		J. de Mitcheldever		Rich. le Devenish	William Jugg	75 Robert Hockley	
Peter de Flichtley		Roger de Winsflud		J. de Mitcheldever	15 John Bett	John Smith	
Peter Lubin		W. le Harrington	55	John Parnfold	John Devenish	Wm. Hoar	
Ade de Cheriton	95	Robert de Franfoide		Thomas le Mayne	Jerman Farly	John Clavell	
Roger de Long		Marke le Weaver		Laurence le Weeke	John Haywood	Robert Foster	40
Edward de Draper		John Ingepen		Thomas Smith	Ditto	80 Wm. Goffe	
John Gabriell		Garret Marleborough		Walter Chandlier	20 Richard Frye	Thomas Harvyce	
Ade de Cloiffe		Laurence de Blaine	60	Rich. Chamberlain	Richard Wigg	Thomas Attrooke	
Ralph Francis	1200	Nich. Luben		John Spragg	Robert Mayhew	Wm. Bett	
Philip Lubin		Jeffery Dalaroone		John Copping	Wm. Jugg	John West	45
Nich. de Mullings		Hugh le Crosse		John Browne	John Blake	85 John Randye	
Edward de Draper		Walter de Nicholas		Nich. le Devenish	25 Wm. Castle	Thomas Holmes	
Nich. Gabriell		Hugh le Sparkford	65	Robert Foster	Walter Boles	Thomas Plaine	
Nich. de Exton	5	Ade de Froyle		Laurence le Fox	Richard Clavell	Thomas Froyle	
John de Hockley		Marke de Draper		John le March	Richard Chamberlain	Thomas Pool	50
John de Lunn		Robert le Irenmonger		Leonard Taylor	Robert Attrooke	90 Wm. Ford	
Robert de Froyle		Nich. de King		John le Grasse	30 Wm. Mourym	Wm. Attoake	
John de Hockley		Marke de Flichtley	70	John de Nicholl	Wm. Wigg	Thomas Blake	
Jeffery de Ring	10	Ade de Exton		Nich. de Exton	Wm. Jugg	John Woole	
Edward de Draper		Richard Davenish		John de Hockley	Robert Attrooke	Thomas Jordaine	55
John de Royle		Jeffery de Froyle		Ralph de Mullings	John Blake	95 John Warner	
Jeffery att Lamden		Math. de Bollenden		John Gabriell	35 Wm. Wigg	Gilbert Blake	
Richard Fry		Roger de Long	75	Robert de Farnfold	Wm. Bolter	John Spicer	
William Attbolme	15	Ralph Francis		Ralph de Mullings	Gilbert Foster	John Attchurch	
John de Mande		Garret de Issington		John Gabriell	Thomas Smith	John Wigg	60
Marke de Ring		Ralph de Hockley		Nich. le Devenish	Marke le Fayre	1400 Philip Ring	
Ade de Burnett		William de Wodere		Ditto	40 Ditto	John Gater	
Marke Dalaroone		Henry Jordan	80	John Gabriell	Thomas Smith	John Tanner	
Ralph de Milner	20	William de Parnfold		John Lumen Draper	Edward Pickard	Wm. Chase	
Robert de Froyle		William de Nortley		Nich. de Exton	Marke le Fayre	Thomas Harvey	65
Thomas de Slayden		Nich. le Devenish		W. de Mitcheldever	John Blake	5 John Bednam	
Roger le Canacre		John Wickon		W. de Parnfold	45 Gilbert Foster	John Terrill	
John de Wareham		Stephen le Weeke	85	Jeffery att Lambden	Wm. Bolt	John Lacy	
W. de Mitcheldever	25	Reynard Wigg		W. de Mitcheldever	Wm. Wigg	John Pratt	
John de Pelbar		Ralph de Mullins		John Russell	John Blake	Wm. Blake	70
Ralph le Spicer		William le Mercer		John de Nortley	Marke le Fayre	10 John Jugg	
John Terrill		William de Wareham		Stephen de Fox	50 John Bayley	John Mitcheldever	
William Winsflud		John de Hannyton	90	William de Winsflud	John Attoke	John Hayne	
Walter Chamberlain	30	John Spragg		Walter Chamberlain	Marke le Fayre	Wm. Holt	
Stephen Tisteed		Henry Wickby		Nich. de Hannyton	Wm. West	Thomas Reason	75
John Blake		Stephen Crane		John Wickley	Thomas Veale	15 John Froyle	
Nich. de Exton		Stephen att Lamden		Ralph Attchurch	55 Wm. Estced	John Foster	
Walter Delaroone		Walter de Vayre	95	Henry Read	John Jourdain	John Collins	
Roger de Long	35	Raynard Read		Stephen Hayne	John Attoke	Wm. Chandelie	
Ade de Kilneston		Hugh le Crane		Hugh le Crane	Richard Bolt	Thomas Thorne	80
John le Sherfield		Jerman Hardy		Ralph de Mullings	Richard Turnant	20 John Shelden	
Florence le Grasse		John Clavell		William Haselwood	60 Thomas Sutton	John Brown	
Laurence de Luce		Raymond Wilson	1300	Thomas le Spicer	Wm. Reason	Richard Bolt	
Garr. de Sparkford	40	Walter de Hill		Nich. de Hannyton	John Veale	John Bramdine	
Ralph de Sheffield		Thomas Bickton		Stephen Hayne	John Summerford	John Calcroft	85
Hugh le Weaver		Thomas Jerman		Richard Wigg	Ditto	25 Richard Butler	
Philip Lubin		Walter Bolt		John Bickton	65 Walter Hoare	Stephen Bramdens	
Thomas Attzard		Ralph Francis	5	Hugh le Crane	Richard Turnant	Roger Wilde	

(2) Copied from the Catalogue extant at St. John's House.

Richard Bull		Robert Bethell	55	Edward White		James Earle		Harry Green, sen.	
Nicholas Biggs	90	John Edmunds		Wm. Longland		Thomas Wavell		Daniel Lashford	
John Stratford		Giles White		Lancelott Thorpe		Ditto		Thomas Waldron	
John Gander		Wm. Godwin		John Trussell		Thomas Pink		Wm. Waldron	
John Stocker		Richard Burton		John Lamphiere	25	Matthew Imber	90	Nich. Purdue Smith	55
Stephen Bramdeane		John Skinner	60	Edward Cole		James Barfoote		Wm. Prior	
Simon Finch	95	Thomas Bath		Martin Yalden		John Purdue		James Spearing	
John Beedle		Thomas Colly		Thomas Godson		Richard Good		Berrington King	
John Calcrosse		Wm. Lane		Ralph Riggs		Henry Sharpe		George Durnford	
John Wheeler		Robert Hodson		Wm. Longland	30	Wm. Over	95	Henry Penton	60
John Blake		John White	65	Christopher Hussey		Godson Penton		His Grace Charles	
John Stratford	1500	Wm. Hall		Edward White		Thomas Cropp		Duke of Bolton	
Richard Biggs		John Edmunds		John Trussell		John Perdue, sen.		James Spearing	
Thomas Colvill		Richard Burton		Martin Yaldes		Richard Good		John Wool	
Ditto		John Skinner		Thomas Godson	35	Matthew Imber	1700	Berrington King	
John Gander		Wm. Lane	70	Ralph Riggs		Henry Sharpe		George Durnford	65
Walter Wood	5	Richard Bird		Robert Toocker		Thomas Cropp		James White	
John Litchfield		Wm. Badger		Wm. Hancock		John Blake		N. P. Smith	
John Bellingham		Stephen Ashton		Joseph Butler		David Wavell		George Durnford	
John Butler		Wm. Lawrance		Edw. White	40	John Penton	5	John Dyson	
John Bird		Wm. Simonds	75	Wm. Longland		John Perdue, sen.		Henry Penton	70
John Butler	10	Wm. Hall		Thomas Godson		Richard Smith		Sir Paulet St. John	
John Bellingham		Richard Bird		Richard Braxtone		John Soane		William Knapp	
Thomas Clarke		Wm. Bethell		Wm. Longland		Thomas Cropp		His Grace the Duke of	
John Webb		Richard Cooke		Ralph Riggs	45	David Wavell	10	Chandos	
Adam Watts		Ditto	80	Robert Matthews		Robert Clarke		Thomas Waldron	
Thomas Baker	15	Wm. Hudson		Edward White		Matthew Imber		His Grace the D.	74
Thomas Hayne		Anthony Bird		Joseph Butler		Thomas Merriott		of Chandos	
John Butler		John White		Edmund Riggs		John Blake		James Spearing	75
Wm. Jennings		Richard Bird		Thomas Muspratt	50	Edward Hooker	15	Harry Green	
John Bellingham		Wm. Symonds	85	John Champion		Gilbert Wavell		John Doswell	
Thomas Webb	20	Wm. Badger		Edward Hooker		Richard Gosnell		James White	
Thomas Baker		Edward Cole		Wm. Harwood		Gilbert Wavell	17	George Durnford	
Thomas Vincent		Charles Newbolt		Edmund Riggs		John Foyle		William Knapp	80
Peter Bird		John Paice		Nich. Purdue	55	Thomas Coward		John Doswell	
Wm. Gryme		Wm. Hodson	90	Richard Dennett		Edward Hooker	20	James White	
John Lawrance	25	Richard Cooke		Thomas Muspratt		John Foyle		George Durnford	
John Butler		John Luke		John Champion		Thomas Barfoote		His Grace the Duke of	
John Bellingham		John White		Edmund Fyfield		Matthew Imber		Chandos	
Thomas Webb		Wm. Beacham		John Munday	60	Thomas Barfoote		Sir Wm. Hillman	85
Adam Watts		Richard Emery	95	James Guy		Thomas Godwin	25	Joseph Barker	
Walter Williamson	30	Wm. Symonds		John Colson		John Foyle		John Doswell	
Walter Chandelier		Wm. Badger		Benjamin Clarke		Thomas Barfoote		James White	
John Laurance		Edward Cole		Wm. Taylor		Robert Waldron		George Durnford	
Thomas Lurkin		Anthony Bird		Nich. Purdue	65	Matthew Imber		George Earle	90
John Skillicorne		Charles Newbolt	1600	Richard Dennett		Wm. Spearing	30	Richard Gamon	
Robert Badger	35	Richard Cooke		Edmund Fyfield		Wm. Waldron		John N. Silver	
Thomas Vincent		Wm. Hodson		Thomas Muspratt		Robert Waldron		John Ridding	
John Hall		Wm. Beacham		Wm. Craddock		Samuel Smith		Richard H. Lloyd	
Wm. Farrington		Richard Adderly		Wm. Smith	70	Wm. Waldron		George Earle	95
John Godfrey		John Luke	5	Thomas Wavell		Wm. Spearing	35	John N. Silver	
Edmund Foster	40	George Pemerton		Benjamin Clarke		Thomas Barfoote		John Mant	
John Skillicorne		Simon Barksdale		Wm. Taylor		Gilbert Wavell		Sir Henry Paulet St.	
Robert Badger		Thomas Bedham		Anthony Yalden		Jacob Gater		John Mildmay	
John Hall		Christopher Hussey		Godson Penton	75	Thomas Barfoote		Joseph Barker	
Arthur Robbye		Wm. Budd	10	John Warner		John Gauntlett	40	George Earl	1800
Robert Hodson	45	Thomas Child		Edmund Fyfield		Thomas Waldron		John N. Silver	
Gilbert Laurance		Edward Cole		Wm. Craddock		Wm. Waldron		John Clerk	
Stephen Bedham		Edward White		Thomas Wavell		Thomas Barfoote		Joseph Barker	
Wm. Lawrance		Richard Adderly		Benjamin Clarke	80	Thomas Waldron		George Earle	
Edmund Foster		Lancelott Thorpe	15	Wm. Taylor		Samuel Smith	45	John N. Silver	5
John Edmunds	50	George Penierton		Thomas Coward		Wm. Olding		John Mant	
Robert Hodson		Simon Barksdale		Anthony Yalden		Wm. Waldron		Joseph Barker	
Robert Beathell		Christopher Hussey		Godson Penton		Jacob Gater		John Mant	
Wm. Lawrance		Wm. Budd		John Warner		Nich. Purdue Smith		Sir H. St. John Mildmay	
Ditto		Thomas Child	20	Ellis Mews	86	Arthur Good	50		

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